

THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FORTY-FIVE

THIRD QUARTER, 1951

The Frontier Presidios of New Spain:
Books, Maps, and a Selection of Manuscripts
relating to the Rivera Expedition of 1724-1728

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IN the month of October, 1722, Juan de Acuña y Bejarano, Marqués de Escalona y Casa Fuerte, soldier and administrator by career, took office as Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of New Spain. The Marqués was a native of America, born in Lima in 1658. His father, Juan Vásquez de Acuña, "hidalgo de Burgos," "caballero de Calatrava," was a colonial administrator of long service in Peru. One of his distinguished offices in that land was the governorship of the quicksilver mine of Huancavelica, a natural resource of the country which joined the Hill of Potosí in making the "wealth of Peru" a phrase of symbolic meaning among the nations. In accordance with the family tradition of public service, the son, at the age of twelve or thirteen years, was sent to Spain for his training. There, when his preliminary education had been completed, he was introduced to the military career.

Through hard work and merit, Juan de Acuña advanced from

* Read in abbreviated form at the meeting of the Society in New Haven, Conn., June 10, 1950.

rank to rank, becoming, finally, general of artillery in the royal forces. His greatest honor came to him at the age of 64 years when, confiding in his "talents, disinterestedness, prudence, and valor," his royal master, King Philip V, gave him in 1722 the viceregal appointment.¹ In two stanzas and a note in *Lima Fundada*, an heroic poem, published in Lima in 1732,² Pedro de Peralta lets epithets of honor rain upon this distinguished son of the City of Kings. "Copia de un Jove, Original de Marte" is obviously hyperbolic in form and intention, but it is clear that the poet was speaking closer to the book when he went on to describe "el heroico Casafuerte" as one who made an art of governing, who, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, if we may paraphrase by quoting an older poet, applied the rigor of Justice as though it were a caress. Descending from these heights we record that as the result of the good sense and vigor which characterized his administration of twelve years in Mexico, Casa Fuerte earned the proud appellation "the great Governor." It is with a major administrative act of this paragon among pro-consuls that the present bibliographical investigation concerns itself.

On May 25, 1723, seven months after his assumption of office, Casa Fuerte made a report to the King upon the condition of those presidios of New Spain which comprised certain states of present-day Mexico and a large part of the area which we customarily think of as the Spanish Southwest of the United States.³ The Viceroy requested permission to investigate conditions in those distant outposts and to institute reforms in their adminis-

¹ Antonio de Alcedo, "Biblioteca Americana," 1807 (Ms. in the John Carter Brown Library), folios 6 verso-7 verso, and J. Espasa, *Enciclopedia Universal*. The service of the Viceroy's father as governor of Huancavelica is found, among other places, in another John Carter Brown manuscript, Juan Luis López, "Relacion del . . . Real Mina de Guancabelica," where, No. 20 in the list of governors, is recorded his service of four and a half years in the period 1651-1655.

² Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, *Lima fundada*, Lima, 1732, *Parte Segunda*, page 475, stanzas CVII and CVIII. See J. T. Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, II, No. 869.

³ For reference to this report, see our No. 5, page [1]. Its main features seem to be recapitulated in the King's response to its recommendations in the dispatch cited in note 4, below.

tration. In a dispatch of February 19, 1724, the King gave him the word to proceed with the investigation.⁴ An event of importance in the history of our Southwest occurred when nine months later, on November 21, 1724, the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera y Villalón set out from Mexico City upon the tour of inspection and reorganization, or *visita*, inaugurated by the report which Casa Fuerte had made to the King a year and a half before.⁵ With Spain so far away, ships so slow, and governmental agencies so deliberate in action, colonial administration in those days was better known for many things than for the speed with which its procedures were carried through.

But if Spanish administration was slow it was also business-like and persistent in the attainment of its ends. The visitation of the frontier presidios, though long in getting under way, was effectively carried through by Pedro de Rivera, the experienced soldier and administrator appointed to its leadership. From the *Relacion de Servicios del Coronel Don Pedro de Ribera*, submitted in 1713 (Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 80), we learn that this officer had begun his military life as a simple soldier, and that by 1711, when he was temporarily governor of Vera Cruz in New Spain, he had already served thirty-four years in the army in Europe and America. A manuscript addition of the year 1721 made to a copy of this *Relacion* seen by Mr. Wagner carried his service forward another ten years, and recorded that among other actions he had aided in putting down a revolt in Tabasco and in dislodging some English corsairs from the Isla del Carmen.

⁴ For the text of this dispatch see Guillermo Porras and Guillermo Porras Muñoz, eds., *Diario y Derrotero de lo Caminado . . . Que . . . executó D. Pedro de Rivera* (Mexico, 1945), Appendice II, pages 142-146, where it is printed from the manuscript in the Mexican Archivo General (Reales Cédulas, T. 44, Exp. 71). In addition to its reprinting of the Rivera *Diario*, our No. 10, this work by Porras and Porras Muñoz contains an informative introduction, notes, lists of manuscript and printed sources, and documentation in the form of royal cédulas relating to Rivera and the Rivera expedition. I am indebted to Mr. James R. Masterson of Washington, D. C., for my knowledge of this work and of the edition of the Rivera *Diario* edited by Vito Alessio Robles cited under our entry No. 1.

⁵ Our No. 5, page [10], and No. 10, A₁ recto.

In his instructions to the Viceroy of February 19, 1724, the King agreed to Colonel Rivera's appointment as leader of the visitation of the presidios and ordered that he be advanced to the rank of brigadier. To the newly made general, then serving as governor of Tlaxcala, came under date of July 7, 1724, an order to report to Casa Fuerte at Mexico City. There he was made aware by the Viceroy of a royal order in which the King had chosen him for a public service of unusual magnitude and consequence. "... su Magestad," he writes in his *Diario* (our No. 10), "hazia eleccion de mi Persona para la visita general de los Presidios. ..."

Rivera spent three years and seven months upon his tour of the frontier presidios, and in the course of that time travelled a distance of three thousand and eighty-two Spanish leagues of nearly four miles each over what the Viceroy afterwards described to the King, with restraint, we may believe, as "very rough roads." After an easy first day's march of one league northward to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a pious beginning, the expedition settled at once into its stride. The second day's march of five leagues was a foretaste and symbol of the stern activity of the years ahead.⁶

The questions that came before Rivera for decision in this *visita* present themselves in an interesting and typical form in a statement of his actions in Texas made by Antonio Bonilla some forty or more years later.⁷ Throughout this study we must keep in mind that a *visita* was not a mere inspection tour but a formal and extended visitation in which the officer in command possessed plenary power that enabled him to issue orders and make immediate changes in the local organization and administration when these seemed advisable. In the course of his visitation of Texas, as the Bonilla account tells us, Rivera extinguished completely one presidio and reduced the garrisons of

⁶ Our No. 10, A₁ recto-A₁ verso.

⁷ "Bonilla's Brief Compendium of the History of Texas, 1772." An Annotated Translation. By Elizabeth Howard West (in: *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, VIII: 3-78, July 1904; section XII, pages 37-40).

three others, thus bringing down the armed strength of that province from 268 to 143 men. His inspection of the missions revealed that several of them were making no progress in Christianizing the Indians. The intimation was that if some of them had to close down because of the extinction of one of the presidios the loss to the Faith would not be great. His opinion of the Texas Indians was that they were dangerous only when persecuted. In consequence he felt justified in his reduction of the garrisons. This was especially true as he felt that the French in Louisiana were not then showing themselves to be a threat to the Texas missions and presidios. Rivera spent several months in his Texas visitation and in reaching his decisions concerning the presidios of that province. After these had been accepted and confirmed and published by the Viceroy, the Texas missionary fathers protested against the extinction of the Presidio of Our Lady of Sorrows because it left their nearby missions without defense. Rivera justified his recommendations in a *dictamen* which Casa Fuerte accepted. The stubborn friars then appealed to the King, an action which necessitated another report by Rivera, and the taking of testimony. It was not until July, 1733, that the King finally threw out the appeal of the friars against the reforms which Rivera had instituted in 1727 and the Viceroy had confirmed in 1728. Unfinished business of this sort dragged out to a period of nearly ten years the reorganization which Rivera had taken in hand in 1724.

Though the conditions and the reforms necessitated by them varied somewhat in the different provinces, it may be assumed that the Texas reorganization here briefly described was representative of all the others made by Rivera in the course of his general visitation. In Texas, as everywhere, Rivera was concerned also with the internal administration of the presidios. Here, too, for example, he set up complete and detailed price lists designed to prevent the captains of the presidios from selling goods and food to the soldiers at exorbitant rates.

The writings and the maps which had their origin in the Rivera expedition were full and explicit in tenor and enduring in effectiveness. With their practical usefulness a thing of the distant past, they remain and are cherished as documents of interest to the historian of Spain in America, to the geographer, to the student of the American Indian, the bibliographer, and the collector. The present account of them concerns itself chiefly with those documents which achieved contemporary publication and with a group of manuscripts which pertain directly to the main purposes of the expedition. The eleven separate elements in this group proceed from three individuals—from Pedro de Rivera; from the Viceroy; and from the engineer and mapmaker, Francisco Álvarez Barreiro. Let us take them up in that order. The maintenance of chronological sequence requires that Rivera's writings be described here under (a) and (d); the Viceroy's under (b); and those of Barreiro under (c).

(a) *The Rivera Reports.*

Soon after his return to Mexico City on June 21, 1728, Pedro de Rivera presented to the Viceroy a great mass of papers of all sorts which had come into being as the result of the *visita*. In the midst of conferences on the reorganization of the presidios the Viceroy realized that some sort of synopsis must be made of all this documentary matter for the scrutiny of the King and his Council, and of all others whom it concerned. We may quote on this point his own words in his letter to the King of March 2, 1730 (No. 5, below). “. . . para evitar,” he wrote, “las confusiones, que sin duda causaria a la inteligencia el crecido numero de quadernos, è instrumentos, y que se hiciese comprehender, le encarguè que sacase un extracto, con las diuisiones que contiene el Decreto numero 1.º del segundo quaderno, que executò, como se vè en èl con toda la claridad, y felicidad que es posible, pues se reconoce en el primero, y segundo estado lo que eran los Presidios antes de la Visita, la regularidad con que pro-

cedió en ella, y como los dejó providencialmente." Six months later under date of December 7, 1728, Rivera completed and signed the document now to be described. Substantial work though it is, we believe that this "Proyecto" was the *extracto* which Casa Fuerte ordered Rivera to make so that the large and confused picture of the four years' visitation might be seen as a unit in a relatively brief and carefully organized statement. The title and description follow:

1. Proyecto y visita de Presidios hecha el año de 1728 p^r el Brigadier D. Pedro Rivera.

Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, page 91, describes the original manuscript (Archivo General, Mexico City. Provincias Internas, Volume 29, Expediente no. 1) as containing 78 leaves. From a typed transcript in the Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, a microprint was courteously made for the purposes of the present investigation.

The "Proyecto" remained in manuscript until it was printed as an important feature of Vito Alessio Robles, ed., *Diario y Derrotero de lo Caminado, Visto y Observado en la Visita que hizo a los Presidios . . . Brigadier Pedro de Rivera* (Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional. Archivo Historico Militar Mexicano, Num. 2), Mexico City, 1946, pages 97-197. This valuable collection contains not only a reprinting (the second in Mexico within a year, see our note 4) of the Rivera *Diario*, our No. 10, but the initial publication of the "Proyecto," and a printing, in part, of the *Reglamento*, our Nos. 3 and 4.

The following statement of the contents of the "Proyecto" is based upon the Bolton transcript. Page 1: Title as above; page 2: contents, as follows, "El Primero. El Estado en que estaban los Presidios antes que se visitasen. El Segundo. El en que se pusieron despues que se les hizo la Visita. El Tercero. El en que por ultima disposicion de su Ex.^a combendrá se pongan. Y por fin de todo Un Mapa que pone presente quanto el Citado Proyecto yncluye, con mas algunas adbertencias necessarias"; pages 3-5: documents; pages 5-25: "Primer Estado"; pages 25-70: "Segundo Estado"; pages 70-133: "Tercer Estado"; page 133: signed, "Mex.^{co} y Diz.^{bre} 7 de 1728. Pedro de Rivera. (Rúbrica)"; pages 134-146: orders, abstracts, other instruments, and attestation in longhand of copyist of the typed transcript, dated September 14, 1909.

Copies: Archivo General, Mexico City. (Provincias Internas, Volume 29, Expediente no. 1.) Typed transcript in the Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California. Printed version in the publication of 1946 by Vito Alessio Robles cited in second paragraph under this entry.

The "Proyecto" may be described briefly as a full, explicit report of the Rivera *visita* in which is written large the matter found in compressed form in certain printed and manuscript pieces, later to be discussed. For that reason, the "Proyecto" is the fundamental document in the group here brought together, and, because of the nature of its subject matter, its unity, and its comprehensiveness, it ranks, in value to the historian, high among all records, manuscript or printed, relating to the Spanish Southwest of the United States.

Clearly the Viceroy realized that many persons would be concerned with the Rivera reorganization who would have neither opportunity nor leisure to consult the "Proyecto." An even more concise statement of what had been done and recommended, therefore, was determined upon. A tabular statement now to be described was prepared upon the basis of the "Proyecto" and attached to it, whether in manuscript or printed form is not known, as a summary of the larger document. In the form in which it is entered below this tabular statement is a broadside printed by the viceregal order, the only form in which it seems to have survived. We may say of it that as the "Proyecto" is an abstract of the great mass of documents accumulated by Rivera in the course of his *visita*, so the document now to be described is an abstract of the "Proyecto."

2. Mapa, que haze Patentes los Presidios de las Provincias Internas, lo que cada vno Dista de Mexico, la Latitud, y Longitud en que se hallan Situados, el Numero de Oficiales, y Soldados, que los Guarnecen, los Sueldos, que vnos, y otros gozaban antes que se visitassen, estado en que quedaron despues de la Visita, y el [en] que por vltima disposicion de su Exc.^a convendrã se pongan, incluyendo los efectos de Paz, y Guerra, que se consumian en la Vizcaya, y el estado à que se reduxeron aquellos Gastos . . . Todo lo qual es deducido de el Proyecto, que antecede: Mexico 11. de Diziembre de 1728. años. D. Pedro de Rivera. [*imprint:*] De orden de su Exc.^a. En Mexico, en la Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno, de los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderon; en el Empedradillo. [1728].

Broadside, four sheets pasted together to form one, measuring overall, 31⁵/₈ x

22½ inches, containing a tabulation in eleven columns of the matter of the "Proyecto."

Copies: Thomas W. Streeter of Morristown, N. J.; John Carter Brown Library.

It is necessary at this point to return for a moment to the collation by contents of the "Proyecto," as given under No. 1, above. Following the section in that collation headed "El Tercero," we find this statement: "Y por fin de todo Un Mapa que pone presente quanto el Citado Proyecto yncluye, con mas algunas adbertencias necessarias." In the course of the centuries the "Mapa" here mentioned seems to have become separated from the manuscript of the "Proyecto." No map of any sort is found with the document today. Everyone who has written on this subject has assumed that the missing element was a geographical map, but the suggestion now to be made is that the "Mapa" in question was not a geographical map but the tabular statement, the *Mapa, que haze*, described in its printed form as No. 2, above, in which is compressed to its bare bones the detail of the Rivera reorganization of the presidios. The word *mapa* can mean either a geographical map or a tabular statement. It was natural to conclude in this instance of its employment that a geographical map was meant, first, because that is the commoner sense of the word; second, because a cartographer accompanied the expedition; and third, because until a few years ago no alternative document had been recognized as answering the requirements of a "Mapa" which set forth with comment whatever was included in the "Proyecto." A document of that character, however, is now before us in the form of this very large broadside *Mapa, que haze*, or summary statement, printed by "la Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno" in Mexico City and bearing in its date line the statement: "Todo lo qual es deducido de el Proyecto, que antecede. . ."

The eleven columns of this tabulation display, in the order here set down, the names of 20 presidios and three guard posts;

the distance of each presidio or post from Mexico City; its latitude; its longitude; the number of captains in each with their salaries; the lieutenants; the ensigns and sergeants; the total garrison in each with its cost of maintenance before the visitation; the same after the visitation with reduced maintenance figure for each; maintenance costs after still further suggested reductions; and the total garrison in each after the proposed final reduction. The statement at the foot of the last four columns shows as the result of the recommendations an annual saving to the Real Hacienda of 160,953 pesos.

The existence of this important printed piece has been known to bibliographers of the present day only since the discovery some years ago of a copy of it in the John Carter Brown Library. Unfortunately that discovery occurred too late for its inclusion in the second edition of Mr. Wagner's *Spanish Southwest*. It is not entered in Medina's *Imprenta en México* or in any other work of reference consulted unless it be the completely unidentified fragment entered by Dr. Nicolás León as No. 550 in his *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII*, Sección Primera, Quinta Parte, 1908. It may be regarded, therefore, as a new element in the bibliography of the Rivera expedition. A second copy came into view in 1949 and was at once acquired by Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.

In order to maintain chronological sequence it seems desirable to defer the discussion of *Diario y Derrotero*, of 1736, Rivera's personal narrative of the visitation. That work of singular interest will be described under section (d).

(b) *The Viceroy's Response to the Rivera Report.*

If the *Mapa, que haze*, of 1728 or early 1729, the large broadside just described, was given general circulation in its printed form, it must effectually have prepared the way in the minds of interested persons for the viceregal publication of the title and description which follow:

[Issue A]

3. Reglamento para todos los Presidios de las Provincias internas de esta Governacion . . . Hecho por el . . . Marquès de Casa-Fuerte . . . En Mexico, en la Imprenta Real de el Superior Gobierno: De los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderon; en el Emdepradillo [*sic*]. Año de 1729.

Collation under Issue B, No. 4, below. Title in facsimile in Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 91. Vice-regal mandate at end, dated "Fecho en Mexico, à 20. de Abril de 1729. Años."

Copies: Thomas W. Streeter; John Carter Brown Library; Archives of the Indies; Biblioteca Medina in Chilean Archives (lacking title leaf); and Everett D. Graff, Chicago, Illinois.

In his account of this document Mr. Wagner (*Spanish Southwest*, No. 91) writes that it was the earliest *reglamento* for the administration of the presidios known to have been formulated, and that with certain changes it continued in effect until, more than forty years later, it was superseded by an instrument issued for that purpose in 1772. In the drafting of its provisions the Viceroy was assisted by Rivera himself and by Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, whom he describes as the Auditor-General of War, and who, we know from other sources, was experienced in the affairs of the frontier provinces. Its provisions, according to the viceregal mandate at the end, were to be retroactive to January 1, 1729. The new order extinguished two of the presidios and two guard posts as unnecessary to the security of the frontier; it reduced the garrisons of those remaining, in some instances drastically; it fixed the salaries of officers and soldiers and effected other economies pleasing to the officials of the Real Hacienda. The comforting result of these economies was an annual saving, as we learned from the *Mapa, que haze*, of 160,953 pesos. These fiscal reforms had been, indeed, the moving cause of the *visita*. The instrument took into consideration also the human aspect of the life and activities of the presidios. It prohibited the use of soldiers by the commandants in the execution of their private business, and forbade the commandants to accept money from subordinate officers or private soldiers under any circumstances.

It established for each presidio a scale of prices for goods purchased by the soldiers, regulating food prices by the distance of the presidio in question from cultivated areas and clothing prices by its distance from Mexico City. It regulated the conduct of war against the Indians when war was necessary, and laid down rules for the just treatment of them in times of peace. The nature of the abuses, financial and human, which had moved Casa Fuerte to his investigation is to be seen in the character of the reforms he instituted in these regulations.

In his mandate printed at the end of the *Reglamento*, the Viceroy referred to an attached "Mapa de los Presidios." In both the Streeter and John Carter Brown copies of the *Reglamento* we find at the end a folded sheet headed "Mapa que comprehende los Presidios, que han quedado existentes en las Provincias internas despues de hecha la Visita. . . ." The eight columns of this tabulation contain an epitome of the recommendations and orders concerning the organization of the garrisons and the salaries of the soldiers made in the section of the *Reglamento* which occupies leaves A₁ recto to D₁ recto. We may assume that through the usefulness of the abstract of Rivera's "Proyecto" in the form of the *Mapa, que haze*, the Viceroy had learned the value of tabular epitomes of extensive and complex matter. The "Mapa que comprehende," here described, must not be confused with the *Mapa, que haze*, our No. 2, above.

In the foregoing entry has been described the *Reglamento* of thirty-three leaves which until recently was the only edition or issue of the celebrated document known to exist. In February, 1949, the John Carter Brown Library acquired a presumably imperfect copy of the *Reglamento* comprising twenty-two leaves and the folded "Mapa que comprehende." It turned out that this piece was not, in fact, an imperfect work, but a variant issue of the *Reglamento* of thirty-three leaves. We enter it as the fourth title in our list, and beneath it for ease of comparison we give in parallel columns the collations, by contents, of the two issues.

[Issue B]

4. Reglamento para todos los Presidios . . .

Title as in No. 3, above, reproduced in facsimile in Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 91.

Copies: John Carter Brown Library.

Collations of Issues A and B:

Issue A	Issue B
Sm. folio. 1 leaf without signature, A-Q ² ; 33 leaves;	Sm. folio. 1 leaf without signature, A-K ² , ¶ ¹ ; 22 leaves;
leaf without signature: title as reproduced in Wagner, <i>Spanish Southwest</i> , No. 91; verso blank;	leaf without signature: As in Issue A
A ₁ recto-D ₁ recto: "Don Juan de Acuña . . . Despues de aver experimentado . . .", sections numbered 1-23;	A ₁ recto-D ₁ recto: As in Issue A
D ₁ verso-K ₂ recto: "Ordenanzas . . .", sections numbered 24-196;	D ₁ verso-K ₂ recto: As in Issue A except that K ₂ recto has been reset with changes specified in paragraph following this collation, and the sheet K reimpressed;
K ₂ recto-Q ₂ recto: "Precios . . ." in all the presidios in separate sections beginning, K ₂ recto, "Precios, que se han de observar, en los Presidios de el Nayarit, Passage, Gallo, Mapimi, Zerro gordo, Compañía Volante, y Conchos . . .";	K ₂ recto-¶ ₁ verso: "Precios, que se han de Observar en el Presidio de Mapimi . . .";
Q ₂ recto: Viceroy's mandate beginning, "Por tanto mando à los Gobernadores de las Provincias internas, Capitanes, demàs Oficiales, y Soldados de los Presidios de ellas . . . Fecho en Mexico, à 20. de Abril de 1729. Años"; [<i>at end</i> :] folded sheet headed, "Mapa que comprehende los Presidios . . ."	¶ ₁ verso: Viceroy's mandate beginning, "Por tanto mando al Capitan, demàs Oficiales, y Soldados de dicho Presidio . . . Fecho en Mexico, à 20. de Abril de 1729. Años."; [<i>at end</i> :] folded sheet headed, "Mapa que comprehende los Presidios . . ."

A close examination of the collations of Issues A and B of the *Reglamento* as here contrasted reveals that the title and signatures A-I², K₁ of the issue of twenty-two leaves, Issue B, are identical with the corresponding signatures in the regular issue of thirty-three leaves, that is, Issue A. Thereafter the variation is marked. In Issue A the leaves K₂, L-Q² contain in several sections the prices at which goods and foodstuffs were to be sold to the soldier in eighteen presidios. In that issue, the listing of prices begins on K₂ recto with a section in which seven presidios are specifically named in the heading. In Issue B the leaf K₂ has been reset and for the twelve following leaves, L-Q², has been substituted a single new leaf ¶₁. These two leaves K₂ and ¶₁ contain the price list for one presidio only, the Presidio of Mapimi. In Issue A the Viceroy's mandate on Q₂ recto making the regulations effective is addressed to the governors of provinces, the captains, other officers, and soldiers of all the presidios of the internal provinces. In Issue B, the mandate on ¶₁ verso is addressed solely to the captain, other officers, and soldiers of Mapimi.

There seems to be no doubt that Issue B is complete, an issue intended for the Presidio of Mapimi alone, and not for all the presidios as was the case with Issue A. The question of purpose at once arises. Certain changes in the form of items added to the list or removed from it are detected upon a close comparison of the Mapimi "Precios" with those of the seven presidios with which they had formerly been incorporated. It seems to be the case that the Viceroy's attention to small details, which will be impressed upon us in considering Nos. 6-8 below, led him to the printing of a special issue of his *Reglamento*, corrected for the single Presidio of Mapimi. His carefulness in this instance, as in the others just referred to, has been a definite challenge to the bibliographer and the occasion to him of no small degree of perplexity.

Though the Viceroy's mandate at the conclusion of Issue B

does not, as it does in Issue A, mention the "Mapa que comprehende," that folded sheet is found accompanying the only known copy of Issue B. It is certainly not out of place with that issue for the good reason that its tabular matter is abstracted, as said before, from the portion of the *Reglamento* found in identical form in both issues on leaves A₁ recto to D₁ recto.

(c) *The Viceroy's Report to the King.*

An important element in the elucidation of the Rivera literature is found in a letter written by the Viceroy to the King dated at Mexico City, March 2, 1730. Its heading and subscription are as follows:

5. Hauiendo Yo representado á V. M. en Carta de 25 de Maio de 1723 el lastimoso estado que tenian los Presidios internos . . . se digno V. M. aprobar quanto en aquella ocasion, y assumpto propuse, mandando con Real Despacho de 19 de febrero de 1724, expedido por la via reseruada, que pasase ala visita Grál deellos, el Brigadier dn̄ Pedro de Riuera . . . [*at end.*] Mexico 2 de Marzo de 1730.

Ms. folio. 13 leaves.

Described from an eighteenth-century transcript, marked in upper left of first page, "Copia," bound in a collection of miscellaneous Spanish-American manuscripts (Phillipps Ms. 4307) formerly in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps. See Damian van den Eynde, "Calendar of Spanish Documents in John Carter Brown Library," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, November, 1936, page 575. In his cedula approving the Viceroy's reforms, our Nos. 6, 7, and 8, the King referred to a letter from the Viceroy—in a context which leads one to think that the present letter was in his mind—as of May 2, 1730. The question arises as to whether there were two letters of similar intent or whether the date as given in the title entered above, March 2, 1730, was an error of the copyist. It is under the March date, however, that the Viceroy's letter is referred to in the notice from the royal secretary announcing Rivera's promotion to the rank of Mariscal de Campo. ("Apendice IV" in Porras and Porras Muñoz, *Diario*, cited in our note 4.)

Copies: John Carter Brown Library.

In the document here described, still unpublished, we believe, Casa Fuerte reminds the King of his earlier letter describing *el*

lastimoso estado, or doleful state, of the presidios; recapitulates the abuses he had complained of; records the fact of having received the King's permission to carry on an investigation; tells of the appointment to that task of Pedro de Rivera; and gives a brief account of Rivera's admirable performance of an investigation which led him over 12,000 miles of road and trail, through deserts and lands unbelievably empty of people. He then proceeds to a discussion of Rivera's report and its recommendations, and concludes with an account of the reform measures he had embodied in the *reglamento*, a copy of which he was transmitting together with Rivera's "Proyecto" of 1728. He asked approval of the matter of the *reglamento* and confirmation of his action in making its provisions effective before the royal assent to them had been received. From examination of sources next to be described it becomes clear that this full representation of the affairs of the frontier presidios was replied to by the King with an expression of full approval and with confirmation of the Viceroy's actions. The new regulations had caused so much discontent among those whose prerogatives were affected, as we have seen in the instance of the Texas reforms, that the Viceroy must have felt strongly the need of making known the King's support of his policy of reorganization. Evidence of this is found in the printed publication in three different forms of a royal cedula which confirmed the viceregal actions. What we may suppose to have been the first of these appeared under the following title and description:

6. El Rey. Marques de Casa-Fuerte, Pariente, mi Virrey, Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Provincias de la Nueva-España . . . En Carta de dos de Mayo del año proximo passado, avisais el recibo del Despacho de diez y nueve de Febrero de mil setecientos y veinte y quatro, en que con motivo de las noticias, que se havian tenido del lastimoso estado en que se hallavan los Presidios internos . . . [Mexico, 1732.]

Sm. folio. 2 leaves; pages [1], 2-3; pages [1]-2: text of royal cedula with heading as above, with date of Viceroy's promulgation of the *reglamento* given on page 2 as May 22, 1729, signed at end of page 2 "Yo el Rey.—D. Joseph

Patiño.”; pages 2-3: the Viceroy’s decree of January 15, 1732, ordering the printing of the foregoing cedula in an edition of fifty copies for the government offices and agencies where they were to be placed at the end of copies there filed of the printed *Reglamento*; page 3: the *Carta* of the royal secretary transmitting the cedula, dated and signed, “Sevilla treinta de Julio, de mil setecientos treinta y uno. D. Joseph Patiño.”, followed by an attestation that the cedula here printed had been compared with the original and the original filed in the “Secretaría de Camara” of the Viceroy, dated “en la Ciudad de Mexico en veinte y uno de Enero, de mil setecientos treinta y dos años.”

Copies: Archivo General, Mexico City, Provincias Internas, T. 154, fojas 137 y 138. Reprinted in Porras and Porras Muñoz (work cited in note 4), pages 147-151, and note, page 147. A microfilm copy of the original printed piece has been made for the John Carter Brown Library through the courtesy of Mr. Edmundo O’Gorman of the Archivo General de la Nacion.

In this instrument we see the Viceroy making public the King’s confirmation by cedula of the reorganization of the frontier provinces as set forth in the *Reglamento* of 1729. This seems simple enough, but actually we are now to find ourselves in one of those situations described in somebody’s phrase as “confusion compounded.” We can do something towards bibliographical clarification, however, by setting in order certain events and the publications which proceeded from them.

In the royal cedula entered above, No. 6, the date of the Viceroy’s promulgation of the new *reglamento* was given as May 22, 1729. The strong probability is that this was the date affixed to the manuscript version of the instrument which the Viceroy had sent the King, for in a contemporary attested transcript of the *reglamento* found in the Archivo General of Mexico the date of the viceregal decree reads “Fecho en México a 22 de Mayo de 1729.”⁸ For a reason not understood the date of the decree of promulgation was changed in the printed *Reglamento* to read, “Fecho en Mexico, à 20 de Abril de 1729. Años.” Clearly it was felt in Spain that the date in the printed document, already distributed in Mexico, should stand as the correct one. Not long af-

⁸ V. A. Robles, *Diario y Derrotero* (cited under the entry of the “Proyecto,” our No. 1), page 234.

ter the cedula just entered and described had been sent to Mexico the royal secretary, Don Joseph Patiño, became aware of the altered date appearing in the printed *Reglamento*. Three weeks after the transmission of the cedula with the wrong date, he wrote to the Viceroy calling attention to the discrepancy and sending him a new version of the royal cedula, one in which the date of the Viceroy's promulgation mentioned in the text had been changed from May 22 to April 20, 1729. In order to avoid future confusion, the Viceroy determined that the entire transaction should be spread upon the record in the form of the publication now to be noticed:

7. [*first title*:] El Rey. Marques de Casa-Fuerte . . . [as in No. 6, above].

[*second title*:] Al tiempo de firmarse el duplicado de el Despacho, expedido en treinta de Julio de este año, . . . Se ha reconocido, que en la resolucion de S. M. declarada en el referido principal, se citó el dicho Reglamento, con fecha de veinte y dos de Mayo de mil setecientos veinte y nueve, teniendo la copia impresa de el que V. Exc. ha embiado, la de veinte de Abril de el dicho año; . . . Sevilla veinte de Agosto de mil setecientos treinta y uno. -D. Joseph Patiño. . . [Mexico, 1732.]

Sm. folio. 3 leaves without signature; pages [1], 2-3, [4], 5, [6]; pages [1]-2: same setting of type as No. 6 above, but page 3, reset; pages [1]-3: contents as in pages [1]-3 in No. 6 above; pages [4], 5, [6]: second title as above, comprising letter of D. Joseph Patiño of August 20, 1731, correcting date of the Viceroy's promulgation of the *reglamento*, followed by the reprinted cedula with that date changed from May 22 to April 20, 1729; page [6]: Viceroy's order, dated "Mexico catorze de Abril de mil setecientos y treinta y dos," signed "El Marquès de Casa-Fuerte." for the printing and distribution of the corrected cedula with the Patiño letter.

Copies: Thomas W. Streeter.

If we may describe its contents in another, and simpler, way, this publication in three leaves was made up of the following constituents: (*a*) the original royal cedula with what we may call the wrong date, in large part in the same setting of type as No. 6, above; (*b*) Don Joseph Patiño's letter with the correction of date; (*c*) a complete reprinting of the cedula with the corrected date; and (*d*) a viceregal mandate of April 14, 1732, concerning

the publication of (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*). The only known copy of the printed cedula in the form described in No. 7 is in the library of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.

But this is not all the story of the printed forms in which is found the royal cedula confirming the Viceroy's regulations. Don Joseph Patiño's letter of correction dated August 20, 1731, (*b*); the corrected cedula dated July 30, 1731, (*c*); and the Viceroy's order of April 14, 1732, (*d*)—the documents, in brief, which occupied pages [4], 5, [6] of No. 7 above—were now re-issued in separate form. The title and description of the shortened document are:

8. Al tiempo de firmarse el duplicado de el Despacho, expedido en treinta de julio de este año, . . . [as in second title, No. 7, above]. [Mexico, 1732.]

Sm. folio. 2 leaves.

Printed from the same setting of type as the second title in No. 7, above, except that the marginal guide words, "Carta" and "Real Cedula," which on page [4] of No. 7 are set in the left-hand margin have been removed in No. 8 to the right-hand margin, and the pagination has been changed from [4], 5, [6] to [1], 2, 3.

Copies: Thomas W. Streeter; John Carter Brown Library.

Thus abbreviated, the instrument contained all necessary information. From it, in comparison with its predecessor, No. 7, was omitted only the incorrect cedula (*a*) and the instruments directly pertaining to it. Surely the reissue of that document had been in the first place an act of supererogation on the part of the Viceroy. Two copies only of the instrument of royal approval and confirmation are known in this, presumably, later form. One of these is owned by Mr. Streeter, the other by the John Carter Brown Library. Mr. Streeter's copy, unlike his No. 7, is not bound with the *Reglamento*. The John Carter Brown copy came to the Library with its *Reglamento* of twenty-two leaves, No. 4, above, and the physical indications are that it was at one time bound with it. None of these pieces, Nos. 6, 7, or 8, was recorded by Señor Medina in his *Imprenta en Mexico*. No. 7 was mentioned

only in passing by Mr. Wagner in his description of Mr. Street-er's copy of the *Reglamento*, No. 91 in the second edition of his *Spanish Southwest*, published in 1937.

One Mexican bibliographer of eminence, Dr. Nicolás León,⁹ described the *Reglamento* as containing thirty-five leaves, and thereby caused a good deal of later speculation for the reason that the book of thirty-three leaves and the folded "Mapa que comprehende" seems without question to be complete. Perhaps we have the explanation before us in the existence of the pieces we have described as Nos. 6 and 8 above. The Viceroy's mandate with which Nos. 6, 7, and 8 conclude provided, as earlier stated, that in one or the other of these forms this piece should be attached to certain copies of the *Reglamento*. If Dr. León saw a copy of the *Reglamento* with either Nos. 6 or 8 appended, the thirty-five leaves of his description might be accounted for. Mr. Street-er's *Reglamento* has No. 7 appended, with the result that his copy of the book might be described as having thirty-six leaves. It remains true that the *Reglamento* of 1729 is complete without any form of the royal cedula published in 1732, but clearly such copies of it as were issued with the separately printed cedula attached in one form or another possess a special degree of interest.

(c) *The Report of Francisco Álvarez Barreiro,
Engineer and Cartographer.*

Accompanying the transcript of the letter which Casa Fuerte wrote the King on March 2, 1730, No. 5, above, is the detailed report of Don Francisco Álvarez Barreiro, lieutenant-colonel of infantry and engineer-in-chief of the Province of Texas. Its opening and concluding lines read as follows:

9. Descripciones de las Prouincias Ynternas de esta Nueva España, que siruen para la mas clara inteligencia de los Planos, ò Mapas que las acompañan, en que se determina el numero de Naciones existente en cada Prouincia, y el de los Yndios de los dos Sexos de que se componen sus Pueblos: frutos que en sus territori-

⁹ Nicolás León, *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII*, No. 333.

os produce cada vna de ellas, con las maderas, Animales, y sus temperamentos: . . . [at end]: Fecha en el Real Presidio de Sñ Juan Bapta del Rio grande del Norte, Gouernacion de la Proua de Coaguila Reyno de la Nueva Extremadura en 28 de Diciembre de 1727. Las referidas Descripciones de las Prouincias internas, fueron separadamte hechas en los parages que se expresan, y aora coordinadas en esta disposicion, por la superior del Exmo Sor Marquès de Casafuerte Virrey, Gouernador, y Capitan Grál de estos Reynos en la Ciudad de Mexico en 10 de febrero de 1730. franço Alvarez Barreiro.

Ms. folio. 13 leaves.

Title from an eighteenth-century transcript in Phillipps Ms. 4307 in the John Carter Brown Library. See Van den Eynde, "Calendar" (cited under No. 5, above), page 575. Torres Lanzas (work cited page 212, below) describes what must be the original document in the Archives of the Indies. Lowery, *A descriptive List*, No. 318, records another transcript in the British Museum.

The competent officer, Francisco Álvarez Barreiro, who compiled this report was an experienced frontiersman who, according to his *Relacion de Servicios*, of 1722 (Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 82), had come to New Spain a good many years before, and as early as 1717 had gone on the Texas expedition of Martín de Alarcón as military engineer. Here he assisted in the building of the church in the mission of San Antonio de Béxar. He returned to Spain in 1720 in obedience to a general order which required that all Spaniards in Mexico whose wives were in Spain should return to the mother country. At some time after this round-up of errant husbands, just when is not known, he made his way again to Mexico, where he soon received orders attaching him to the Rivera expedition as engineer, cartographer, and statistician. His duties were not only to make maps and plans and to determine the latitude and longitude of each province, its size, and its boundaries, but as well to act as a sort of observer and census taker. He had been enjoined to determine the number, identify the nations, and appraise the disposition of the Indians inhabiting each province. He was to record the products which each territory produced, the varieties of timber and animals, the terrain, and the nature of the soil. In the 26 folio pages of Barreiro's report these data are presented in fixed and regular order.

It is not necessary to say that information on these large matters, faithfully gathered at first hand over a term of years, would inevitably result in a report of value to the historian. That report is in itself a model of arrangement. It is divided into six sections each of which corresponds to one of the "kingdoms" or to a group of provinces not organized as a kingdom, and each headed with reference to the map it elucidates, Plano Numero 1, Plano Numero 2, etc. The last of the sections, under the heading Plano Numero 6, concerns a general map of the whole area and a description of the Province of Texas. The existence of this map, the most important of the group, has not always been recognized. The six maps form an extraordinarily complete cartographical record of the area concerned in the period of their construction. In the admirable book of Torres Lanzas, *Relación descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, &c, de México y Floridas existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, I, Nos. 120-124, we find five of these maps fully entered and described. Their brief titles, dates¹⁰, and descriptions are these:

No. 120. Plano corographico de el *Nuevo Reyno de Toledo, Provincia de San Joseph de Nayarit* . . .

Dated April 4, 1725.

63 x 46½ cm.

No. 121. Plano corographico é Hidrographico de las Provincias de la *Nueva Vizcaya y Culiacan* . . .

Dated August 23, 1726.

77 x 57 cm.

No. 122. Plano Corographico del Reyno y Provincia de el *Nuevo Mexico* . . .

Dated January 12, 1727.

51½ x 40½ cm.

No. 123. Plano Corographico y Hidrographico de las tres Provincias de *Sonora, Ostimuri y Sinaloa* . . .

Dated June 20, 1727.

46 x 41½ cm.

¹⁰ The dating of Nos. 120-123 is accepted upon the authority of Torres Lanzas, who saw the original maps or contemporary draughts of them. It is only in the case of No. 124 that the date can be satisfactorily read in the photostats of photostats before me.

No. 124. Plano Corographico de los dos Reinos el *Nuevo de Extremadura* ó *Coaguila* y el *Nuevo de Leon* . . .

Dated Año 1729.

51 x 41½ cm.

Copies: The original maps, or contemporary versions of them, drawn on parchment and in color, are in the Archives of the Indies, Seville. Photographs made in 1928 by Louis C. Karpinski are in the following American libraries: William L. Clements; Library of Congress; Henry E. Huntington Library; University of Indiana; Newberry Library of Chicago; Yale University.

Torres Lanzas describes these maps carefully and mentions a sixth, of the Port of Acapulco, as probably also done by Barreiro at about this time. He does not, however, list the general map which Barreiro describes in his report, No. 9, above, under Plano Numero 6. Because of this omission we may assume that the original of the general map has disappeared from the Archives of the Indies or has been misplaced among its vast collections, especially as it is not found with the five above-listed maps, copied by Louis C. Karpinski in 1928 as part of his project for reproducing photographically American maps in Spanish archives. That it once had existence, however, we have not only Barreiro's word but an entry, No. 538, in Lowery, *A descriptive List*, to which Mr. Streeter drew our attention, describing a manuscript map reproduction, made in 1770, now in the British Museum, which answers to the Barreiro description in every sense. A photograph of this reproduction in the Map Division of the Library of Congress enabled us to identify without question the British Museum map as that which Barreiro described in his report as Plano Numero 6. In its lower right-hand corner this map bears the label, "British Museum. Additional Ms. 17,650"; in the upper left are "17650.b." and, in roman lettering, "Plan numº 6." Its title compressed from that given by Mr. Lowery is as follows:

Plano, corrografico é hidrografico, de las provincias de el nuevo mexico, sonora, ostimuri, culiacan, nueba vizacia [*sic*] najarit, nuevo reino de Leon, nu-

eva estremadura, ò coaguila, y las del nuevo reyno de Philipinas, provincia de los tejás todas de el minero de la nueva españa situada entre los 21 y 38 [*sic*, actually 41] grados de latitud boreal, y entre los 250 y 285 de longitud al respeto de el meridiano de la isla de Santa Cruz de tenerife, . . . por Don Francisco Alvarez Barreiro Ingeniero principal de la prouincia de los tejás, siguiendo las ordenes, que para ese efecto le fueron dadas, por el Brigadier de los Reales exercitos Don Pedro de Rivera y villalon . . . Reducido, y delineado por Don Luis de Surville en 4 de Julio del año de 1770. Surville. 44 x 25.8 cm. In color.

At one stage in the present bibliographical enquiry, photographic copies of the six Barreiro maps were examined by Mr. Thomas W. Streeter. His written comment aids in evaluating these maps for the student. In the special maps of the provinces he found several first appearances of place names and political divisions, but his chief enthusiasm was for the general map, Barreiro's Plano Numero 6. "It seems to me," he wrote, "about the most important of all the eighteenth-century maps showing Texas, sharing that honor with the Delisle 1718 map." He continues his comment as follows:

For the first time as far as I know the boundaries of the northern provinces are shown on one map as they were at that time. Indeed the first printed map I know of which shows the boundaries of the smaller provinces such as Coahuila, Nuevo León, was not published until about forty years later—the Alzate y Ramírez map of 1768. This Alzate map, which Humboldt criticizes so severely, copies the Barreiro map for the whole area east and north of the Rio Grande from Santa Fé down. For Texas the copy is so exact that it has enabled me to read some of the faint legends on the Barreiro map. Alzate also copies Barreiro for the boundaries of Sonora, Ostimuri, and Sinaloa.

(d) *The Rivera Diario.*

Because it was not published until 1736, it has seemed desirable to postpone until this final section the discussion of Rivera's journal of the memorable tour of inspection he made in the period 1724-1728. The title and description of the journal are as follows:

10. Diario. Y Derrotero de lo Caminado, Visto, y Observado en el Discurso

de la visita general de Precidios, situados en las Provincias Ynternas de Nueva España . . . Ympresso en Guathemala, por Sebastian de Arebalo, año de 1736.

Sm. folio. 1 leaf without signature, [A]-H², Y², I², K-S²; 39 leaves without foliation or pagination. Leaf without signature, recto: title as reproduced in Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 98; verso blank; leaves [A]₁ recto-S₂ verso: text beginning "Para que en lo futuro," signed at end, "D. Pedro de Rivera."

Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 98; Medina, *La Imprenta en Guatemala*, No. 146.

Copies: Newberry Library of Chicago; Bancroft Library (University of California); British Museum; University of Chicago; Everett D. Graff, Chicago, Ill.; Henry E. Huntington Library; John Carter Brown Library; Library of Congress; New York Public Library; Thomas W. Streeter, Morristown, N. J.; University of Texas.

We cannot do better than quote Henry R. Wagner's summary of the contents of this document and his estimate of its value: "Besides the route and the remarks on the character of the country traversed," writes Mr. Wagner of the Rivera *Diario*, "the book contains condensed statements about the people, towns, resources, etc. of all the provinces visited and a vast amount of scattered information on all manner of subjects—missions, mines, officials, government, etc." It is, he says by way of final evaluation, "the most important printed document extant of any printed relating to the frontier provinces."¹¹

There has been surmise at one time or another as to why the *Diario* should have been published eight years after the conclusion of the events described and printed in Guatemala instead of in Mexico City or Madrid. We are able to offer a suggestion that may explain the place and circumstances of publication. Pedro de Rivera became in the early 1730's, soon after the conclusion of his *visita*, president of the Real Audiencia, Governor and Captain General, of Guatemala, and it was in the capital city of his province that he was living when the *Diario* was published in 1736. No further explanation of the place of publication seems necessary, nor is it too difficult to suggest a reason for the appearance

¹¹ Reprints of the *Diario* are found in the work cited in Note 4, above, and in the collection by Vito Alessio Robles cited in the comment following the entry of No. 1 above.

of the book eight years after the conclusion of the expedition. The following title seems significant in this association:

11. Relacion de servicios del Mariscal de Campo Don Pedro de Rivera, Gobernador, y Capitán General de las Provincias de Goathemala, y Presidente actual de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Santiago de ellas.

Folio. 3 leaves, dated November 10, 1738.

Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, No. 3155; Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, No. 105.

Copies: Archives of the Indies, Seville.

The publication of a *relación de servicios* provides good evidence to those who know the Spanish administrative system that the subject of it was asking advancement or reward for past services to the Crown.¹² In the introduction to his *Spanish Southwest*, Mr. Wagner has described the interesting procedure through which these pleas for governmental consideration were brought to the attention of the Council of the Indies. Evidently action upon Rivera's *relación* was not immediate, for he was still described by his Guatemalan titles in a publication of the year 1741.¹³ It is not unreasonable, however, to suspect an association of ideas between the publication in 1736 of the *Diario*, record of an arduous and important public service, and the presentation to the Council of the Indies in 1738 of a formal *relación de servicios*. If that association in fact existed, the publication of the *Diario* was in a sense the initiation of Rivera's effort to secure advancement.

In concluding our association with this competent, hard-work-

¹² See Porras and Porras Muñoz, *Diario y Derrotero*, cited in Note 4, above, for the royal secretary's communication of September 30, 1731, announcing the promotion of Rivera to the rank of "Mariscal de Campo," in recognition of his achievement in the visitation of the Presidios. Unhappily the rank when conferred upon officers in the colonial service was not accompanied by the pay and perquisites which pertained to it in Spain.

¹³ *Relacion de los meritos, y servicios, formada por D. Pedro de Rivera Villalon, Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Goathemala, Gobernador, y Capitan General de su Reyno, para informar a S. M. de los que ilustran y condecoran la persona de D. Thomas Hermenegildo de Arena, Gobernador, y Capitan General de la Provincia de Honduras.* "Suscrita en Guatemala á 19 de Octubre de 1741," according to Medina, *La Imprenta en Guatemala*, no. 177.

ing soldier and administrator we call attention to another time and place in which he stood in close relationship to a presidio now included within the bounds of the United States. His reputation for the analysis of conditions on the Spanish frontier endured through the years. In 1744, he made to another viceroy of New Spain a report upon the utility of the Presidio of Pensacola. A copy of this report, bearing Rivera's signature, in which the history of Punta de Sigüenza, alias Panzacola, is recapitulated from 1696 onward, was formerly in possession of Mr. Henry R. Wagner, but its present ownership is unknown.¹⁴ An eighteenth-century transcript, which contrives to leave off the signature of Rivera, is found in the volume of Phillipps Mss., No. 4307, in which are bound Nos. 5 and 9 above.¹⁵ As in others of Rivera's reports so in this analysis of the situation at Pensacola one is impressed by the writer's thoroughness, understanding, and common sense. The Spanish empire endured for 300 years by grace of its trained administrators, men of experience and proven intelligence, of the kind we recognize in Pedro de Rivera.

Conclusion

The literature of the Rivera visitation is not confined to the group of eleven manuscript and printed pieces and six unnumbered manuscript maps assembled and described in the foregoing pages. Letters and reports of later date arising from the business of the visitation have been mentioned only by indirection, as in the account of the dispute which arose through Rivera's reforms in Texas.¹⁶ Comprehensiveness, therefore, is not the spe-

¹⁴ "Informe" by Pedro de Rivera, Mexico, May 29, 1744. 28 pages, autograph document signed. See catalogue of American Art Association, "Uncommon Americana" (March 17, 1922), No. 197*b*. Communicated to the author by Mr. Wagner under date of April 10, 1951.

¹⁵ For abstract, see Damien Van den Eynde, "Calendar of Spanish Documents in John Carter Brown Library," No. 62, page 574, cited in note under our entry No. 5.

¹⁶ A good number of manuscript sources not mentioned here are listed in the recent valuable Mexican publication, Porras and Porras Muñoz, *Diario y Derrotero*, cited in note 4, above.

cial virtue of this study. Such validity as it has lies in its assemblage and integration of the chief manuscript and printed sources relating to the actual visitation and its immediate results. It may be that in bringing these pieces together the existing concept of the Rivera sources has been enlarged. The importance of those sources in the historiography of the Southwest is beyond question.

The Ruysch Map of the World (1507-1508)

By BRADFORD F. SWAN*

THERE is, of course, very little nourishment to be derived from trying to pick at a bibliographical carcass after two such skillful men as Henry Harrisse and Wilberforce Eames have carved it. Nonetheless I have been so bold as to try to perform the feat, in the hope that a few tidbits may yet remain somewhere on the well-plucked bones. I was inspired in this rash course when Henry C. Taylor of New York deeded to the Yale University Library two years ago a copy of the Rome, 1508, edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* containing the map of the world drawn by Johannes Ruysch. I offered to prepare an article for the *Yale Library Gazette* on the books in the Taylor gift, of which the Ptolemy was but one, and descriptions were sent to me in Providence so that I could begin the work.

The description of the Ruysch Map in this volume of Ptolemy aroused my curiosity at once, for it asserted that the map was in two states, the left-hand half being the earlier issue and the right-hand half the later. In Providence, when one is faced with a puzzle of this sort, one goes immediately to the John Carter Brown Library and appeals to Lawrence Wroth, and that is what I did. By calling my attention to a typewritten note by Mr. Eames inserted in the JCB copy of this edition of Ptolemy, Dr. Wroth, all unwittingly, set me the task of which this paper is the result.¹

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Cambridge, Mass., June 2, 1951.

¹ My debt to Dr. Wroth in the preparation of this paper is obvious; he has helped in numerous ways, some of which have been mentioned in the text while others are

The Ruysch Map was drawn as a special feature of this edition of the *Geographia*, with commentary by Marcus Beneventanus and others, which was in process of publication at Rome in 1507. Apparently, however, it was not ready in time for inclusion in the edition of that year—with one notable exception, of which I shall speak later—and in 1508 another issue of the book was brought out, composed largely of sheets remaining from the 1507 issue, with a new title-page and re-set preliminary matter, 14 leaves of commentary by Beneventanus on the map, and the map itself.²

Ruysch was a German, and Beneventanus says that he had sailed from the southern part of England on a voyage to Newfoundland and its vicinity. Baron Nordenskiöld expressed the belief that Ruysch was both a practical mariner and a man of some learning, but except for what Beneventanus tells us about him and Nordenskiöld's statement that the name of Ruysch belongs to an old family in the Netherlands, our cartographer is very much a man of mystery.

His map, a copperplate engraving, occupies two facing pages in the volume, where it replaced an earlier planisphere based on the Ptolemaic concepts of geography. It bears the title: *Vniuersalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula Ex Recentibus Confecta Observationibus*. It is important because for nearly 400 years it was held to be the

merely implied. Several of his writings on early cartography have served as invaluable background material, and his frequent consultation and criticism have saved me from numerous blunders. This acknowledgment of my debt to him should not be interpreted in any way, however, as making him a party to any errors, either of fact or opinion, contained herein. I would also like to express my thanks to Miss Marion W. Adams, Miss Jeannette D. Black, and Woodley L. Wright of the John Carter Brown Library staff for their many helpful kindnesses. The extremely valuable contribution of Frederick R. Goff to this study will be readily apparent; it was he who provided the crucial evidence. Mr. Taylor has done all in his power to help, even to lending me his copy of the Ptolemy, so that its Ruysch Map could be examined at will. Others to whom I am indebted are mentioned in the text; to these should be added William A. Jackson, Alexander O. Viator, Dr. Hans Nachod, Douglas G. Parsonage, and Richard S. Barnes.

² Henry Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* . . . (N. Y., G. P. Philes, 1866), No. 56; Sabin, *Dictionary*, Nos. 66475 and 66476.

earliest published map displaying the western discoveries. Since 1900 two maps have been discovered which antedate it, but each of them is known in only one copy.

Baron Nordenskiöld, who wrote before these two maps were found, held the Ruysch Map in high regard, referring to it in his *Facsimile-Atlas* as “. . . this map, which from a geographical point of view marks an epoch in cartography more distinctly than any other that has ever been published in print. . . .”³ The Baron’s contemporary, Henry Harrisse, took a rather dim view of the map and its importance, however. In his *Discovery of North America* he wrote:

Notwithstanding the high compliment paid by Marcus Beneventanus to Joannes Ruysch, . . . of all the ancient maps, none have exercised so little influence over the cartography of the New World as his mappamundi. We have never seen its configurations reproduced anywhere; whilst it is only mentioned twice in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. . . .⁴

The Ruysch Map’s long-lived claim to primacy among published maps showing the New World passed in 1901 to the Waldseemüller wall-map of 1507, and in 1922 this successor to the throne was supplanted by the Contarini-Roselli engraved map of 1506. A third Twentieth Century discovery, the Waldseemüller Carta Marina of 1516, seems to bear some noteworthy resemblances to the Ruysch nomenclature, indicating that both maps probably derived in part at least from a common source. It is one aim of this paper to investigate this relationship. Another is to examine the relationships between the Ruysch Map and the Contarini-Roselli Map, between Ruysch and a manuscript map by Vesconte Maggiolo, dated 1511, and, lastly, between Ruysch and a manuscript map drawn by Henricus Glareanus probably before 1516. It is also my hope that I can shed some new light on

³ A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography with Reproductions of the most important Maps printed in the XV and XVI Centuries* (Stockholm, 1889), p. 67.

⁴ Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America* (London and Paris, 1892), p. 452.

the Ruysch Map from the point of view of its printing and its bibliographical variations.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP

Ruysch's map of the world is a planisphere on a conical projection, with its apex at the North Pole. Accordingly it is shaped like an opened fan with the curved edge at the bottom. Each half of this arc swings through 180 degrees of longitude, with zero longitude on the dividing line between the two halves and passing just west of Ireland and Africa—through the westernmost point of Fuerteventura in the Canary Islands, to be exact. In latitude the map extends from 90° North to 38° South.

In the present discussion the chief emphasis will be on the map's display of the newly discovered lands in the west, but it should be mentioned that Ruysch has rendered a reasonably accurate configuration of the African continent and, what is perhaps more important, the best conception of the size and shape of the sub-continent of India of any of the world maps in its class. Among the cartographers of his time Ruysch alone seems to have grasped the way in which the Indian land-mass protrudes southward into the ocean to which it has given its name. Furthermore, he has reduced somewhat that vestigial peninsula at the eastern extremity of the Indian Ocean which remained from the Ptolemaic concept of a closed sea to the east of Africa, after the Portuguese navigators had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened the sea route to India and the lands beyond the Ganges.

Ruysch's accuracy in the eastern hemisphere seems to have been based on up-to-date information from Portuguese navigators and explorers, and is a strong evidence of the Lusitanian origin of his cartography.

Examining the western section of the map, we find its most notable feature to be the way in which Ruysch has shown Greenland and especially Newfoundland as parts of a huge peninsula

jutting out from the northeastern shoulder of Asia. This is definitely not a common feature among maps of the period, most of which leave the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts isolated in the midst of a vast expanse of North Atlantic Ocean. It is only since the discovery of the Contarini-Roselli Map and a reappraisal of the Maggiolo Map that we have been able to establish that Ruysch's work, instead of being something of a rarity in this regard—that is, making Newfoundland an Asiatic peninsula—is actually one member of a cartographical family displaying this same feature.

In the Caribbean area Ruysch shows a number of islands, including part of one which some scholars hold to be Cuba while others contend it was meant to be a part of the main. This land is separated from both Newfoundland on the north and an extensive coast to the south which Ruysch labels *Terra Sancte Crucis* or *Mundus Novus*.

Across the western end of the truncated land in the Caribbean Ruysch has placed a legend on an unfurled scroll. In translation it reads: "Thus far the ships of Ferdinand, King of Spain, have gone." A similar scroll has been unfurled across the western part of South America to cloak its real extent, then, of course, unknown. Here the legend reads, in part, that "because of the magnitude of the land they have called it the New World." On the other hand, a legend placed in the Pacific Ocean, about where most related maps show Cipangu, would seem to indicate that its writer held to the belief that Columbus had reached this Japan of which Marco Polo wrote.

SOURCES OF THE RUYSCH MAP

Henry Harrisse passed two judgments on this mappamundi by Ruysch. His earliest verdict, propounded in the *Discovery of North America*, was this:

The basis of the entire map was a purely Lusitanian planisphere, similar to

those of Cantino and Canerio but constructed after the former and before the latter; that is, between 1502 and 1504.⁵

A few years later, writing in his *Découverte et Evolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, he began to make modifications on this idea. He wrote that the map "is in great part copied from some Portuguese derivative of the prototype of Cantino, not however without Ruysch having introduced some characteristic modifications on the subject of the region [Newfoundland and its environs] in which we are particularly interested."⁶ Later on in the same work, however, HARRISSE modified his view even further, and predicted, in his typically brilliant fashion, the existence of an Italian map or chart which had influenced Ruysch. He wrote:

This part of the Ruysch Map does not seem then to give the oldest example of a graphical reproduction of the hypothesis transforming Newfoundland into an exclusively Asiatic country. If we make some reservations, it is above all in favor of a series of Italian charts, notably those of Roselli A. . . of which the prototype, if not the charts themselves, appears to have preceded the mappamundi of Ruysch.⁷

If we keep in mind the fact that HARRISSE did not know of the existence of the map devised by Contarini and executed by Roselli, and therefore was unaware of what close kinship this work and the Ruysch Map would reveal when, eventually, they were compared, his prediction is all the more astonishing. The Contarini-Roselli Map is not the missing prototype, although the Ruysch Map is very much like it in several respects, but it is an extremely strong piece of evidence in favor of the existence of that Italian prototype, still undiscovered, which HARRISSE envisioned.

A third descendant of this unknown parent is to be found in the mappamundi, never published until a few years ago, which is

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 449.

⁶ HARRISSE, *Découverte et Evolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve et des Pays Circonvoisins* . . . (Paris, H. Welter, 1900), p. 57.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

included in the manuscript atlas composed by Vesconte Maggiolo, now in the John Carter Brown Library. Although this Maggiolo Map, drawn in 1511, differs in certain respects, both large and small, from both the Ruysch Map and the Contarini-Roselli, its relationship to them has been made clear by G. Caraci in his article, "A Little Known Atlas by Vesconte Maggiolo," in *Imago Mundi*.

"Such an interpretation," Caraci writes,⁸ "is suggested by other substantial resemblances of Vesconte's chart to that type of configuration to which Harrisse rightly gives the name 'Lusitano-Italic.' Indeed, when Harrisse wrote, there was only [the Ruysch Map] . . . but the keen-witted critic knew that this representation, which then might even lead one to suppose that the original Portuguese source had been elaborated a little later in Germany by the talent of Ruysch, must instead go back to an Italian model from which also Maggiolo's chart descended. The discovery of [the Contarini-Roselli Map] proves that Ruysch must have been aware of the existence of the Italian chart, or at least of the prototype from which it was reproduced, also—undoubtedly—of Italian origin."

Caraci also points out that both Ruysch and Maggiolo show the zero meridian passing through Fuerteventura in the Canaries while Contarini-Roselli runs it through the small island of S. Antão in the Cape Verde group.⁹ He goes on to demonstrate that in both the northern and southern sections Maggiolo is closer to Contarini-Roselli than he is to Ruysch.

From these comparisons we are able to deduce that the three maps are indeed closely related, but that not one of them agrees in all important details with any other. My own comparison of the maps leads me to the conclusion that Ruysch was best of all in his configuration of Newfoundland, indicating somewhat its

⁸ *Imago Mundi* (London, 1937), II: 45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II: 44-45.

insular character, and that he was the best in both his configuration and his nomenclature on the South American coast. As I have said earlier, he was far and away the best in his configuration on India; here the Contarini-Roselli Map bears little resemblance to Ruysch and is closer to Maggiolo.

Yet another source on which Ruysch drew, according to HARRISSE, was an English map, possibly even one of the Cabotian charts, to supplement his own knowledge of the Newfoundland area gained during his voyage. HARRISSE based this surmise on one place-label on Ruysch's map: *Baia de Rockas*, on the east coast of Newfoundland. HARRISSE pointed out that the letter *k* is not found in such a word in Portuguese, Italian or Spanish. He also hinted that there might be a Cabotian influence in the label *C. S. Marci* [Cape of St. Mark] near that puzzling land in the Caribbean area which is either Cuba or part of the main. HARRISSE noted that no other map known to him displayed this label. At the risk of seeming to take a wild guess, I offer the theory that here Ruysch had simply misread a *Jamaica* label on some map he was using as a model. This may seem far-fetched to some of you, but believe me when I say that these place-names, especially on the manuscript maps, are not always as legible as they might be.

The influence of the Vespuccian discoveries, as transmitted to the northern school of geographers, especially those centered about the Gymnasium at St. Dié, is another element discernible in Ruysch's cartography. This influence has been called by HARRISSE the Lusitano-Germanic, since it pervades all the cartography produced in northern Europe during this period. Its hallmark, according to HARRISSE, is the error of referring to the *Bay* of All Saints, on the eastern coast of South America, as the *Abbey* of All Saints, the original *baia* of the Lusitanian charts having been transformed into *abbatia* at some time during the transfer of this information to the northern scholars.

HARRISSE predicted that the large wall-map drawn by Martin

Waldseemüller in 1507 to accompany his *Cosmographiae Introductio*, if it ever were found, would display this error. Once more he was proved correct, when the Waldseemüller map finally was found in 1901. But this error is virtually the only thing that the Waldseemüller and Ruysch maps have in common, and it is obvious at first glance that the long-missing Waldseemüller map was not Ruysch's model, and that the two maps do not even descend from a common ancestor.

It does seem likely, however, that Waldseemüller encountered, some time before he drew the Carta Marina which was issued in 1516, the prototype from which Ruysch had derived so much of his nomenclature for the South American coast. The synoptical tables prepared by Fischer and von Wieser,¹⁰ in which they compare the American nomenclature used on the Hamy-King, Cantino, and Canerio charts; the Waldseemüller wall-map of 1507; Ruysch; the Waldseemüller map in the Ptolemy printed at Strasbourg in 1513; and the Waldseemüller Carta Marina of 1516, reveal that nine South American place-names on the Ruysch Map are also on the Carta Marina—and on no other map in this series. Sometimes the names are altered slightly, but there can be no mistaking their identity. These nine place-names, giving Ruysch's versions, are: Lixleo,¹¹ Terra Seca, Golfo de Vericida, Mons Rotundus, Golfo de Pareas, Terra de Pareas, R[io] de Flagranza, R[io] de Foco Cecho, and R[io] deles Aves.

What leads the observer to believe that Waldseemüller worked from a prototype rather than from Ruysch is that he declined to use Ruysch's nomenclature in the Newfoundland re-

¹⁰ Jos. Fischer and Franz von Wieser, *The Oldest Map with the Name America of the Year 1507 and the Carta Marina of the Year 1516 by M. Waldseemüller (Ilacomilus)* (Innsbruck, 1903), pp. 53-55.

¹¹ An interesting error, perpetuated by Waldseemüller. Harris, in *Discovery of North America*, p. 317n., says that this should properly be *Cabo del Isleo*, but he notes that it was erroneously referred to as *Sisleo* in a Spanish document dated 21 September 1504.

gion. Here he used three place-names found on the Ruysch Map—C. Glacial, C. das Portugesus, and Baya das Roechas¹²—but he transposed the names of the two capes and the other labels on Ruysch do not appear at all.

The South American nomenclature which is peculiar to Ruysch and the Waldseemüller Carta Marina is perpetuated in 1520 on the so-called Nuremberg Globe drawn by Schöner, where it is borrowed nearly intact from the Carta Marina, upon which the Schöner Globe is based almost entirely.

The question now arises as to just what part Marcus Beneventanus, the author of the commentary, may have had in the final version of the Ruysch Map.

In the sea to the westward of the famous island of Taprobana the map displays a legend stating that Portuguese ships sailed as far as that place in the year 1507. HARRISSE questioned whether Ruysch himself actually made this notation on his original draught, and suggested that it may have been a late addition by Beneventanus, added while the map was being engraved at Rome where, according to HARRISSE, "the learned Celestinian without doubt supervised the execution."¹³

Here one theory is as good as another. I would, however, tend to disagree with HARRISSE's contention that all these legends on the Ruysch Map are the work of Beneventanus. One which seems to stem directly from Ruysch is that pertaining to the strange behavior of the compass in the region near the magnetic pole, a phenomenon which our cartographer may have observed personally while on the voyage which is supposed to have carried him as high as 53° North Latitude.

HARRISSE in all his writings on the Ruysch Map scoffed at the idea that it showed any evidence of Spanish influence. Nonetheless, Ruysch's configuration of Cuba or the main or whatever that

¹² Waldseemüller's spellings; Ruysch's were: *C. Glaciato*, *C. de Portogesi*, and *Baia de Rockas*.

¹³ HARRISSE, *Découverte*, pp. 56-58.

mysterious land at the western end of the Caribbean is supposed to be, considered in conjunction with the omission of any island of Cipangu and the presence of a legend in its stead expressing the belief that this was the land the Spanish navigators had reached, indicates that Ruysch's Lusitanian prototype embodied a Spanish idea which Columbus had sought to make official in 1494—that is, that Cuba was not an island but a promontory off the coast of Asia.

THE STATES OF THE MAP

The states of the Ruysch Map constitute an interesting problem in bibliography which has attracted the attention of several investigators. Wilberforce Eames was apparently the first to discover that the map appeared in more than one state. He began by differentiating two states. Later, abandoning this classification entirely, he was able to list three states of the map. It is my belief that we can now raise that number to five, and that it will be of interest to record here the development of our knowledge in this respect.

When Eames was writing the entries in Sabin for the two Roman editions of Ptolemy which we have been discussing, he noted that the Ruysch Map was found in two states, namely:

(1) A state bearing the label PLISACVS SINVS in a huge bight on the China Coast, where Ruysch's extension of the Newfoundland peninsula forms an elbow with the northward trending coast of the Asiatic mainland.

(2) A state in which this label is absent.

No attempt to establish priority between the two states was made by Eames at that time.¹⁴ Henry N. Stevens, however, suggested in *Ptolemy's Geography* that this label was present in the first state and was erased from the plate in the second state, basing his theory on some irregularities in the engraver's hatching of the ocean areas at this spot.¹⁵

¹⁴ Sabin, *Dictionary*, Nos. 66475 and 66476; see, especially, Eames' note.

¹⁵ Henry N. Stevens, *Ptolemy's Geography* (London, 1908), pp. 13-14.

Eventually, as was so often the case in his bibliographical studies, Eames returned to a fuller examination of the problem and, as usual, he got results. Laid in the copy of the 1508 Ptolemy in the John Carter Brown Library is a note by Eames, to which I referred early in this paper. It is one of those terse messages from the great bibliographer which prove so valuable to any of us who ever attempt to follow a trail he has blazed. It revises his differentiation of the states completely, enabling him to list three, as follows:

(1) State I does not bear the label LA DOMINICA, and the island is erroneously labeled CANIBALI. This state also lacks all inscriptions found on subsequent states.

(2) State II shows LA DOMINICA correctly labeled, and CANIBALOS IN. is affixed to the modern island of Trinidad. OCEANVS, widely spaced, is spread through the lower margin of the whole map, the first three letters appearing in the left-hand half and the last four in the right-hand half of the map. Three other labels have been added, all in the right-hand half of the map: AGISIMBVS SINVS near the west coast of Africa, SINVS GAGETICVS in the Bay of Bengal, and SINVS MAGNVS even farther east, beyond the Malay peninsula.

(3) State III shows four more labels added. In the left-hand half of the map PLISACVS SINVS has been added off the China coast and SINVS GRVENLANTEVS in the bight between Greenland and Newfoundland. In the right-hand half PLEAGVS BONE SPERANZE has been inserted off the Cape of Good Hope and SEYLLAN OCEANVS near the Sinus Magnus at the extreme eastern end of the map.

The sole example of his State I found by Eames was the Grenville Kane copy, now in the Princeton University Library. I have heard a report that the special features of this copy of the map were first noted by Miss Anne M. Nill, when she was serving as assistant and cataloguer to the late Wilfrid M. Voynich, who sold this volume to Mr. Kane, but I have not been able to collect any further details about her discovery.

Eames' criteria were published by George H. Beans in *Imago Mundi* in 1948, in a note entitled "The Ruysch Map in Its Earliest Known State," part of an article bearing the general title

"Some Notes from the Tall Tree Library."¹⁶ Mr. Beans was able to add another criterion to those already listed by Eames, information which confirmed the Eames description of the earliest state. This was the finding made by Mr. Beans:

(1) In Eames' State I, the label for the Virgin Islands appears *just above* the double line marking the Tropic of Cancer, and is printed as: LE 11000 VIRGIE.

(2) In Eames' States II and III, this label is printed *between* the two lines marking the Tropic, and is printed as: LE XI MIL VIRGINE.¹⁷

Now when I compared the Taylor-Yale copy of the map with Eames' list, examination showed it to be different from any of the three recognized states. It was clearly a case of half-and-half; the left-hand half of the map was in Eames' State I, as confirmed by Mr. Beans, and the right-hand half was in Eames' State II. This brought up at once the question of the Taylor-Yale copy being a trial proof drawn by the printer in the course of making corrections in the plate, and I must confess that, at first, this seemed the likeliest explanation.

About this time, however, a photostat of a copy of the Ruysch Map in the Library of Congress arrived at the John Carter Brown Library from Frederick R. Goff, chief of the Rare Books Division of the former Library. A covering letter which accompanied it explained that the Lessing Rosenwald copy of the map, which had been acquired by the Library of Congress only a short time earlier, differed from the photostat in certain respects. When I read this it immediately occurred to me that here was still another state of the map, comparable in a sense to the Taylor-Yale copy, since it was intermediate between Eames' State II and his State III, the left half being State III and the right half State II.

A definite pattern began to emerge from this somewhat tan-

¹⁶ *Imago Mundi* (London, 1948), V: 72.

¹⁷ It is probable that the label was moved because its original placement confused it with a large label for the *Insula Antilia*.

gled state of affairs. There seemed to be no explanation for these intermediate examples, displaying what we might call a split-personality, unless the map had been printed from two separate plates, one for each half of the map.

When I advanced this theory Dr. Wroth asked the obvious question: "Why? Why complicate the printing problem by working with two plates rather than one?" I put this question aside for the moment, and we went after evidence of a two-plate printing.

Dr. Wroth and I wrestled with a fine, tight, full morocco binding by Francis Bedford on the John Carter Brown copy of the 1508 Ptolemy, hoping that we would be able to see far enough into the fold to find evidence of plate-marks there without breaking the binding. The venture was not very successful—except that we did not break the binding—and once more I resorted to what I like to call bibliography-by-friend.

I wrote Mr. Goff and asked him to search for plate-marks in the three copies of the book in the Library of Congress. He served us well, and discovered not only the expected plate-marks but also the much more important fact that the two halves of the Ruysch Map in the Library's Rosenwald and Thacher copies were conjugate with leaves bearing other maps. He found that the left-hand plate of Ruysch is conjugate with the leaf bearing the map entitled "Livonie; Norvegie et Gottie," and the right-hand plate of Ruysch is conjugate with the leaf bearing the map entitled "Tabula Moderna Prussie."

I might add here, I suppose, that if there is a moral to be drawn from this experience it is that for bibliographical purposes a book which dealers might describe as "slightly shaken" may often prove more valuable than one in a Bedford binding.

Incidentally, Mr. Goff's very illuminating discovery about the conjugate leaves adds considerable bibliographical significance to the Ruysch Map in the Kane-Princeton copy of the 1507

Ptolemy. At the request of Julian P. Boyd the volume was examined for me by Miss Julie Hudson, who found the two halves of the map conjugate with the proper leaves. This would seem to rule out any possibility that the Ruysch Map, although in its earliest state, was inserted in this copy of the 1507 edition at some time after the volume had left the printer. It is also interesting that this copy of the 1507 edition does not contain the 14 leaves of commentary by Marcus Beneventanus, which would seem to lend support to Harrisse's theory that Beneventanus based his commentary on the information contained in the map rather than on any extensive knowledge of his own.

It would seem, in fact, to be an inevitable conclusion that some copies of the Ruysch Map had been impressed in time for the sheets to be substituted in the remaining stock of the 1507 edition before a new title-page could be set up and run off; before Beneventanus completed his commentary; and, possibly, even before there was any need to change the date of the edition. This must remain, of course, just a conjecture, but it is not without significance that the earliest known state of the map is to be found in a volume dated 1507 and that the map in question is, bibliographically speaking, all in proper order. I shall leave to others the final judgment on whether this proves that we can now date the Ruysch Map 1507 instead of 1508.

All the evidence assembled for me by kind friends enables me to advance an explanation for the printing of the Ruysch Map and its use in the two editions of Ptolemy. Apparently, when Ruysch's drawing was received by Beneventanus, probably late in 1507, it was promptly engraved on two plates, so that these could be substituted for the two-plate mappamundi of traditionally Ptolemaic form which had been issued originally with the 1507 edition.

This earlier map's two halves had been printed on leaves which were conjugate with the Norwegian and Prussian maps. It was

because of this arrangement, in all probability, that the Ruysch Map was engraved on two plates instead of one. The fact that the new map was treated in the same way as the one it was designed to replace would seem to indicate that the printing and publication of the 1508 edition was but a continuing part of the production of the edition of the preceding year. Also, the 1508 edition seems to have been a continuing process in itself, for the changes in the plates which create the various states were, with the exception of the two erasures and changes in the left-hand plate after its first impressions, all additions.

The occurrence of mixed states of the map in the Taylor-Yale and Rosenwald-Library of Congress copies could, of course, be explained as simply cases of mixed sheets. Another copy of the map owned in 1950 by H. P. Kraus of New York is, however, in the same state as the Taylor-Yale copy.

Here we have an indication that this intermediate state is not just a bibliographical freak. Furthermore, the Rosenwald-Library of Congress copy does not seem to have been unique either, for when Henricus Glareanus copied the Ruysch Map for his manuscript atlas in the John Carter Brown Library there are indications that he worked from a copy in the same state as the Rosenwald variant—that is, one lacking the Pelagus Bone Speranze and Seyllan Oceanus labels in the right-hand plate.

This peculiarity of Glareanus' copy, by the way, rules out any claim that Ruysch copied his map from the Swiss cartographer. The bibliographical evidence reaffirms the contention of Edward Heawood that Glareanus copied from Ruysch.

The conclusion is, therefore, that although these examples of mixed states may have been pure accidents, we can account for at least two of each sort, and, as a result, we can now point to a new and enlarged listing of the states of the map. We now have the following:

State I: Eames' State I of both plates, represented by the unique copy of the map in the 1507 edition in the Princeton University Library.

State II: Eames' State I in the left-hand plate, and Eames' State II in the right-hand plate, represented by the Taylor-Yale and H. P. Kraus copies.

State III: Eames' State II in both plates, represented by the Library of Congress Copy A, by one of Mr. Beans' copies, by a copy at Yale, one at Princeton, and undoubtedly by others elsewhere.

State IV: Eames' State III in the left-hand plate, and Eames' State II in the right-hand plate, represented by the Rosenwald-Library of Congress copy and the manuscript version by Glareanus in the John Carter Brown Library.

State V: Eames' State III in both plates, represented by two copies in the Newberry Library, the Thacher-Library of Congress copy, the John Carter Brown copy, two copies at the New York Public Library, the second of Mr. Beans' copies, the Harvard copy, and undoubtedly others.

You will note that I have made no effort to do more than locate representative copies of the various states of the Ruysch Map. Further searching among the two Rome editions of Ptolemy might add more examples of the comparatively rare states of the map, and might even turn up copies of the map in states presently unknown to us.

Such a census, and further investigation of many unsolved problems connected with this justly famous world map, I leave to others better equipped for the task.

SUMMARY OF FIVE KNOWN STATES OF THE
RUYSCH MAP

State	Left Plate	Right Plate
I	LA DOMINICA does <i>not</i> appear, the island being wrongly labeled CANIBALI. Virgin Islands label <i>above</i> double line marking the Tropic of Cancer, printed as LE 11000 VIRGIE. Lacks all inscriptions mentioned below.	Lacks all inscriptions mentioned below.
II	Same as State I	AGISIMBVS SINVS near African west coast; SINVS GAGETICVS in Bay of Bengal; SINVS MAGNVS farther east. Letters A N V S spread through margin.
III	LA DOMINICA correctly labeled. CANIBALOS IN. for modern island of Trinidad. O C E spread through margin.	Same as State II
IV	PLISACVS SINVS added near China coast; SINVS GRVENLANTEVS added farther east, between Greenland and Newfoundland.	Same as State II
V	Same as State IV	PELAGVS BONE SPERANZE added off Cape of Good Hope; SEYLLAN OCEANVS added near Sinus Magnus in upper right corner.

Early West Virginia Imprints

By BOYD B. STUTLER

THE *Check List of West Virginia Imprints, 1791-1830*, published as No. 14 in the WPA Historical Records Survey Project, was completed on the last day of 1940 when Douglas C. McMurtrie, National Editor, signed the introduction and gave the compilation his clearance. It was not issued until the late spring of 1941.

This survey, made after combing the holdings in more than 200 libraries and private collections, listed 106 separate titles imprinted or attributed to presses within what is now West Virginia between 1791 and 1830. The press was young in that area and printed items, other than newspapers, were few and far between.

A careful screening, perhaps, would eliminate something like a half dozen of the titles as either not printed (several titles were taken from the copyright record), or issued from presses outside the area covered. But what is remarkable is that in the ten intervening years only 17 unrecorded titles have come to light. Pending a complete revision of the original imprint inventory and probably extension down to 1863—when West Virginia became a separate state—it seems worthwhile to make a record of the titles not found in the WPA search.

1805

[Crude woodcuts of eight coffins] | Murder—Horrible Murder!! |
Clarksburg, Virginia, November, 1805. | Last night, Abel Clemmons.
... | Lines on the above Murder. | ... | [Morgantown, Joseph Campbell? 1805.]

A Succinct Narrative

OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF

ABEL CLEMMENS,

*Who was executed at Morgantown, Virginia, on Monday the 30th
of June 1806, for the Murder of his Wife and Eight
Children :—To which is added, a concise relation of his
religious exercises shortly preceding his execution.*

*Also, the exhortation of Judge Brooke, before
whom he was tried and sentenced ; and
a letter written under the direction
and at the request of the pri-
soner to his brother Isaac
Clemmens, on the day
preceding his exe-
cution.*

*“ Hope humbly, then ; with trembling pinions soar ;
“ Wait the great teacher, Death ; and God adore.”*

*“ Take ye heed, watch and pray : for ye know not when
the time is.” Mark, c. xiii, v. 33.*

MORGANTOWN,

PRINTED BY J. CAMPBELL, FOR THE PROPRIETORS.

1806.

*Original—only copy known—owned by Urbana Junior College,
Urbana, Ohio.*

Broadside. 27 x 44 cm. (Text: 17 x 36.5 cm.) 2 cols. Inverted wood rule border; no imprint.

Copy owned by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

On the night of November 8, 1805, Abel Clemmons killed his wife and eight children at their home near Clarksburg, (W.) Va. (See "A Succinct Narrative," confession of Clemmons, following.) A facsimile reproduction of a unique copy of this broadside (attributed to Campbell at Morgantown) was printed in the PAPERS, 42: 323 (4th Quarter, 1948).

The Clemmons horror classic was later revived by several printers on occasions of reporting other mass killings. Thomas M. McDade, while researching for his "Gallows Literature of the Streets" (*New Colophon*, 1950), located a reprint in the New York Public Library dated "Augusta (Kennebec) Maine, July 11, 1806," printed on the back of another horror sheet reporting the murder of wife and six children by Capt. James Purrinton. (Library of Congress has a Purrinton murder broadside without the Clemmons reprint.) Boyd B. Stutler has an unidentified Clemmons reprint dated January 15, 1815, with additional verses but in all other respects conforming to the Campbell(?) issue.

1806

[DEIBLER, GEORGE]

A | Succinct Narrative | of the life and character of Abel Clemmens,
(sic) | Who Was Executed at Morgantown, Virginia, on Monday the
30th | of June, 1806, for the Murder of his Wife and Eight | Children;
—To which is added a concise relation of his | religious exercises shortly
preceding his execution, | Also, the exhortation of Judge Brooke, before |
whom he was tried and sentenced; and | a letter written under the direc-
tion | at the request of the pri- | soner to his brother Isaac | Clemmens,
on the day | preceding his exe- | cution, | [thick-thin rule] | [four line
quotation] | [short rule] | Morgantown, | Printed by J. Campbell, for
the Proprietors | [short rule] | 1806.

40 pp. 13 x 21.5 cm., trimmed; printed in 8s, sigs. (A)-E.

Copy owned by Urbana Junior College, Urbana, Ohio.

A gallows confession of Abel Clemmens (sic), convicted of the axe murder of his wife and eight children at Clarksburg, (W.) Va., on the night of November 8, 1805 (see broadside preceding). Contents: Confession of Abel Clemmens, pp. 3-32; Letter to this Brother, pp. 32-34; Substance of a Sermon Preached in Morgantown, at the Execution of Abel Clemmens, pp. 34-40. Signed George Deibler on page 40.

1807

HENSHAW, LEVI and HIRAM

Land for Sale | Agreeable to the last will and testament of William

Henshaw, Esq., will be sold a farm . . . | Levi Henshaw and Hiram Henshaw | January 20, 1807. | Martinsburg, Virginia: Printed by John Alburdis. [1807].

Broadside. No copy located; reprinted, including printer's imprint, in *West Virginia Historical Magazine* (Charleston), 4: 166-167 (April, 1904).

Land situated in Berkeley and Monongalia Counties, (W.) Va. The sale embraced other properties, including a sawmill, fulling mill and distillery.

MAYER, LEWIS

1816

An | Illustration | of the | Church and its Ministry, | in | A Sermon | Preached Before the Masonic Society of Shepherd's- | Town, Va. on Monday June 24, 1816, being | the anniversary of St. John the Baptist. | [wavy rule] | By Lewis Mayer, Minister of the Gospel at Shepherd's-Town. | [wavy rule] | [filet] | Shepherd's-Town, | Printed by J. N. Snider. | [two rows of dots] | 1816.

30 pp. 12 x 18.5 cm. Two sigs. of 12, one of 6 pp. Cover title.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

Earliest known Masonic item printed in West Virginia. On inside title cover, inscription: "Presented to Mr. Mayer by his unknown kinsman, L. Mayer."

MAYER, LEWIS

1817

The Gifts of God. | [wavy rule] | A | Discourse | Delivered | At Shepherd's-Town, (Va.) | on the | Fourth Day of July, 1817; | Being the | Anniversary of American Independence. | [double rule] | By Lewis Mayer. | [double rule] | [two-line quotation] | [thick-thin rule] | Shepherd's-Town, (Va.) | Printed by John N. Snider. | [two rows of dots] | 1817.

14 pp. 15 x 23 cm. Cover title; printed in 8s, p. (2) blank; errata, p. 14.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

Review of Christian festivals and patriotic observances; causes of the American Revolution, and progress made in 41 years of national independence.

1822

SHIPPED at Wheeling, in good order, by | Zane, Knox & M'Kee | in the (S Boat Genl. Neville) bound for | | [Wheeling? Robert I. Curtis? 1822.]

Broadside. 21.5 x 28 cm. (Text: 11.5 x 10.5 cm.)

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

Freight bill of lading, for shipments by steamboat. Only copy located is made out for shipment of one keg of nails, weight 56 pounds, by Steamboat General Neville, consigned to Martin Reuter, Cincinnati, to be forwarded to Rev. James B. Finley at Sandusky, Ohio. Note at bottom, signed by J. List, Jr., advises consignee that a box of 8 x 10 glass will follow. This material was needed by Finley for construction of the noted mission church for the Wyandotte Indians at Sandusky.

1823

McLAUGHLIN, HUGH & JAMES

WAY-BILL, | Furnished by Hugh & James McLaughlin at the |
Sign of the Blue Bell, in the Town of | Lewisburg, Virginia. | [orna-
mental rule] | From Lewisburg to Chillicothe, Ohio | . . . , | [Lewisburg?
J. F. Caldwell? 1823.]

Broadside. 16 x 20 cm. (Text: 12 x 13 cm.) Body set in 2 columns; no place, date or printer. Type faces used, however, conform exactly to those in use by Caldwell's *Virginia Palladium and Pacific Monitor*, Lewisburg.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

This is a route guide with distances between road houses from Lewisburg to Chillicothe, apparently issued for distribution to travelers by the Blue Bell Tavern. The only copy known was found in the papers of Walter Dun, land dealer and speculator, who lived at Chillicothe from 1805 to 1830, when he removed to Lexington, Kentucky. In 1823 Dun made a trip to Washington and recorded some of his impressions in his note book. On the back of this way-bill, in Dun's handwriting, is a statement of the exact condition of the roads between Lewisburg and Chillicothe.

Hugh and James McLaughlin were operating a tavern at Lewisburg as early as 1807; later they acquired the Blue Bell, which they sold to James Frazier late in 1823. The old tavern building is still standing. (For Bell Tavern, see Mrs. Ruth (Woods) Dayton's *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes*, Charleston, W. Va., Publishing Co., 1942, pp. 80-93.) Joseph F. Caldwell, 1796-1878, was one of the publishers of *The Virginia Reformer and Herald of the Valley*, Winchester, 1819-1820; in July, 1820, he established the *Herald of the Valley* at Fincastle, with which he continued until May, 1823. (See Clarence S. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 1690-1820, 2: 1113, 1167-68.) He moved a printing plant to Lewisburg where, on November 18, 1823, he began publication of *The Virginia Palladium and Pacific Monitor*, which he continued until about 1830.

1824

DODDRIDGE, JOSEPH, DR.

An Elegy | on his | Family Vault. | [row of type ornaments] | By Dr. Joseph Doddridge. | [row of type ornaments] | 28 verses | [Wellsburgh? The Gazette? 1824.]

Broadside. 19.5 x 33 cm. Type ornament border; set in 2 columns, divided by wavy rule.

Copy owned by Library of Congress. (Rare Book Room, No. 18 in Portfolio 243.)

The Elegy is printed in the author's *Notes of the Settlement and Indian Wars, in the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania* (Wellsburgh, 1824), see No. 59, *W. Va. Imp. Inv.* This broadside, undoubtedly of local issue, may have preceded the printing of the book.

1825

New Selection | of | Hymns | and Spiritual Songs, | For the Pious. | [short thick-thin rule] | "Praise ye the Lord" | [short thick-thin rule] | Wheeling, Va. | Published by Davis & M'Carty. | 1825.

216 pp. 8.5 x 14 cm. Leather.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

A collection of hymns and religious songs adapted for use in all church services.

1826

DOW, LORENZO

The | Yankee Priest, | Handed for Publication by the Rev. Lorenzo Dow. | [112-line poem] | [Wheeling, Va.? Gazette Print? 1826.]

Broadside. 19.5 x 32 cm. Set in two columns. No place, date, or printer. Careful comparison of type faces used in this broadside show definitely that the same fonts were in weekly use by the *Gazette*.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

Only copy located bears endorsement in the handwriting of Josiah Fox: "The Priest by Lorenzo Dow, given by him to Josiah Fox, 1826." This Josiah Fox was a naval architect in the employ of the U. S. Government for many years and while in that employ designed many of the warships of the first navy, including "Old Ironsides." He then lived at Wheeling. His son-in-law, Robert I. Curtis, was the publisher of the *Gazette* and at that time was Wheeling's only printer. Dow was in Wheeling in 1826 when he had another of his publications, *The Stranger in Charleston*, printed by Curtis (see No. 76, *W. Va. Imp. Inv.*).

VINCENT, THOMAS

Christ's | Sudden and Certain | Appearance to Judgement. | [filet] |
 By Thomas Vincent, | Sometime Minister of Maudlin, Milk-Street, Lon-
 don. | [filet] | [2 lines quotation] | [filet] | To which is prefixed, | A
 Sketch | of | The Life of the Author. | [rule] | Wheeling. Published by
 William Davis. | [short rule] | 1826.

viii, (9)-358 pp. 11 x 18 cm. Leather.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

A reissue of the same title published by Davis & McCarty, Wheeling, 1823 (see No. 55, *W. Va. Imp. Inv.*). Errata on p. 358 is omitted; final two unnumbered pages, catalogue of books for sale by publishers, are not present in the 1826 edition.

1828

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER

Facts and Documents | Confirmatory of | the Credibility of | the |
 Debate on Baptism, | Between W. L. M'Calla and A. Campbell. | A Full
 Exposition | of a | "Unitarian Baptist," | Created and Made | by the Rev.
 W. L. M'Calla | By Alexander Campbell. | Bethany, Brooke County,
 Va. | 1828.

24 pp. 17 cm., pages trimmed (text: 8.2 x 14.8 cm.).

Copy owned by Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Canton, Missouri. There are also copies at Huntington and at Princeton Theological Seminary.

A continuation of the debate on Christian baptism between Campbell and McCalla, held at Washington, Ky., in October, 1823 (see No. 61, *W. Va. Imp. Inv.*). The title is listed in Claude Elbert Spencer's *An Author Catalog of Disciples of Christ and Related Religious Groups* (Canton, Mo., Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1946), p. 50.

OHIO COUNTY, VIRGINIA, COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE

Plain Truth. The following documents are submitted for the consideration of a candid public as proof that Andrew Jackson, a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, was associated with Aaron Burr in his various projects against the Union. Read, Reflect and Decide: Jackson and Burr. [Wheeling, 1828.]

15 pp. 8vo. Copy not located; title from *Aaron Burr in Literature*, by Samuel H. Wandell (London, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1936), p. 208. *Colophon*: Published by the Ohio County, Virginia, Committee of Vigilance.

The Wheeling Gazette, published by Robert I. Curtis, was violently opposed to the candidacy of Andrew Jackson, and for a year preceding the election of 1828 its columns were filled with most bitter personal attacks upon him and his friends. The *Plain Truth* political pamphlet noted above was printed from type set in 2-column measure used in the issue of August 16, 1828. It is entirely different from *Plain Truth* (No. 87, *W. Va. Imp. Inv.*), which dealt with Jackson as a slave trader. No. 87 was also reprinted from the *Gazette*, October 4, 1828, where it appeared under the caption "General Jackson's Slave Speculations."

Another attack on Jackson, the type set in wide measure indicating intent to reproduce it in pamphlet form, was published in the *Gazette* for September 13, 1828, under the caption, "Jackson, Burr and Treason." No pamphlet bearing this title has been located.

1829

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER

Psalms, Hymns | and | Spīitual (sic) Songs, | Adapted to the | Christian Religion, | Selected by | Alexander Campbell | [short rule] | Second Edition | [short rule] | Bethany, Brooke County, Virginia, | 1829.

176 pp. 6.5 x 11 cm. Leather. (Lacks last signature; probably 192 pp. complete.)

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

First issue of the second edition with error (spīitual) on title-page; no copy of the first edition, 1828, has been located. (See No. 86, *W. Va. Imp. Inv.*) This edition has "Copy Right Secured" on verso of title page; 1832 and later editions print in full the copyright certificate issued June 12, 1828, as noted in the "Copyright Record of the First Judicial District in Virginia, West of the Allegheny Mountains." (Mss privately owned.)

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER

Psalms, Hymns | and | Spiritual Songs, | Adapted to the | Christian Religion, | Selected by | Alexander Campbell | [short rule] | Second Edition | [short rule] | Bethany, Brooke County, Virginia, | 1829.

192 pp. 6.5 x 11 cm. Leather.

Copy owned by Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Canton, Missouri.

Second issue of second edition, with error corrected on title page (Spiritual).

The | United States' | Spelling Book, | With Appropriate | Reading Lessons; | Being an Easy Standard | For Spelling, Reading and Pronouncing the | English Language, | According to the Rules Established by John Walker, in his Critical and Pro- | nouncing Dictionary. | [rule]

| By Sundry Experienced Teachers. | [rule] | [2-line quotation] | [thick-thin rule] | Wheeling, Va. | Published by J. Fisher & Son. | [row of dots] 1829. | Stereotyped by J. Howe, Phila.

144 pp. 10.5 x 17 cm. Blue paper on boards. Title page enclosed in double rule border.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

Apparently the first edition of this speller was that issued by Zadok Cramer, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1809. The book was in popular use in the Ohio Valley and mid-western country for many years; several editions were printed at different places. Other Wheeling issues printed from the same plates owned by Stutler are: J. Fisher & Son, 1831 and 1833, and Stephenson & Garwood, 1840.

WHEELING, LAWS AND ORDINANCES

Acts Incorporating | the | Town of Wheeling, | and the | Ordinances | of said town, | now in force. | [rule] | Printed by Order of the Mayor and Commonalty. | [rule] | Wheeling: | Printed at the Gazette Office. | 1829.

28 + 4 pp. 12 x 20.5 cm. Cover title, p. 2 blank.

Copy owned by Boyd B. Stutler.

Compilation of laws and ordinances, pp. 3-28; appendix including Act of February 16, 1829, amending the town charter, and two ordinances, pp. 1-4.

Mr. John Cook Wylie of the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, writes: "Periodicals may have been intentionally excluded, though this is not clear either from the WPA list or from BBS's 'other than newspapers.' If it was intended to include them, then some explanation should be made about the omission of *The Christian Baptist*, Buffalo Creek, 1824-5 (Swem 983-4), *The Ladies' Garland*, Harpers-Ferry, 1824-1828, *Layman's Magazine*, Martinsburgh, 1815-1816, *The Millennial Harbinger*, Bethany, 1830. All these have full entries in the *Union List of Serials*.

"Aside from the periodicals, attention might appropriately be called to the fact that the University of North Carolina has acquired a copy of John Wagner's Manual for the Deist, Morgantown, 1823, 131, 1 p., which the WPA list (p. 53, no. 105) had only from the copyright entry. And, finally, a group of four A. G. M'Rae imprints from Clarksburg, dating from 1827 to about 1830, have been located at the College of William and Mary. All of them written by John Thompson Brown, as follows:

To the people of Harrison County . . . [Clarksburg, 1827]

To the people of Harrison . . . [Clarksburg, 1828?]

Fellow Citizens: On reaching home, I find that much dissatisfaction prevails in the County . . . [Clarksburg? 1829]

J. T. Brown, respectfully informs the citizens of Harrison, that he has come to the conclusion not to be a candidate for the Legislature . . . [Clarksburg, 1830]."

Bibliographical Notes

The Ghost of the Turned Sheet

The ghosts called up by bibliographers are not always books; sometimes they are printer's practices. Such a ghost is the turned sheet which causes wrong perfecting.

"Wrong perfecting" itself sounds like a ghost or at least a contradiction of terms. But there is such a thing.

Every book is made up of a number of gatherings each formed by printing and then folding into leaves one sheet of paper, more than one sheet, or part of a sheet. When the printer arranges the type pages in their proper order for printing he is said to "impose" them, and when the pages for one side of a sheet have been imposed and locked up in an iron frame called a "chase" they become a "forme." The first forme is said to "print the white paper" and the second forme to "work the reiteration" or "perfect" the sheet.

The student now and then comes across a book in which there is a strange confusion: Page 1, perhaps, is backed by page 6 and every following page in the gathering is also backed by the wrong page. Such a gathering resulted because the sheet from which it was folded had been wrongly perfected.

It is possible, of course, for a sheet to be wrongly perfected simply because one or more type pages in a forme were wrongly imposed or because it was perfected with a forme belonging to another gathering. Generally, however, the type pages have been correctly imposed and print the proper sheet, but simply back the wrong pages.

R. B. McKerrow suggested that such wrong perfecting "is due to a very simple cause, namely, to the sheets, after being printed on one side, having been turned the wrong way round when being perfected; or, alternatively, to the second forme printed having been placed the wrong way round on the bed of the press" (*Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 260-261). Elsewhere, however (p. 68), he suggested that wrong perfecting would result simply if the sheet being perfected were "laid the wrong way round," and this seems to have been the usually accepted explanation. Recently,

for instance, Mr. Fredson Bowers accounted thus for an unusual perfecting: "Such a state would result if by accident a sheet, or else possibly a whole heap . . . had been turned sideways end for end after printing but before perfecting" (PAPERS, 43: 79-80 [1949]; see also his *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, pp. 73-74).

It seems, however, unlikely that a turned sheet or heap often, if indeed ever, caused wrong perfecting in books printed on hand presses. Normally the points would have prevented it.

On the hand press there was a flat frame called a "tympan" attached by hinges to the bed on which the forme lay. When he came to print, the pressman would lay a sheet of white paper on the tympan and then fold tympan and paper back down onto the inked type. The "points" were two pins attached to the tympan where they would pierce the middle short fold in a folio, quarto, or octavo sheet. When he came to perfect, he would slip the points through the point holes pierced while printing the first forme. Thus the points caused the type pages and white borders on one side of a sheet automatically to correspond in position with those on the other side; this is called correct "register."

Joseph Moxon, the earliest English writer of a treatise on printing, advised that for folio, quarto, and octavo sheets the points should not be placed equally distant from the edges of the paper because the sheet is more easily handled and also because the printer thus "secures himself the more from a turn'd heap when he works the reiteration" (*Mechanick Exercises*, ed. by T. L. DeVinne, 2: 285 [1896]). The same advice occurs in Philip Luckombe's *History and Art of Printing* (1771), p. 334; C. Stower's *Printer's Grammar* (1808), p. 347; John Johnson's *Typographia*, 2: 520 (1824); T. C. Hansard's *Typographia* (1825), p. 583; C. H. Timperley's *Printer's Manual* (1838), p. 95; Thomas MacKellar's *American Printer* (1878), p. 229; John Southward's *Practical Printing* (2d ed. 1884), p. 437; C. T. Jacobi's *Printing* (5th ed. rev. 1913), pp. 222-224; and probably elsewhere.

How this would work out may be seen from the diagrams of the two sides of a printed sheet in quarto (Fig. 1 and 2).

The text and white margins of the outer forme pages 1 recto, 2 verso, 3 recto and 4 verso (Fig. 2) will match those of the inner forme pages 1 verso, 2 recto, 3 verso, and 4 recto (Fig. 1) only if the same point pierces X and the same point pierces Y for both printings. If the sheet should be turned the wrong way before perfecting, then point hole Y would slip over point X and point hole X would slip over point Y and the sheet

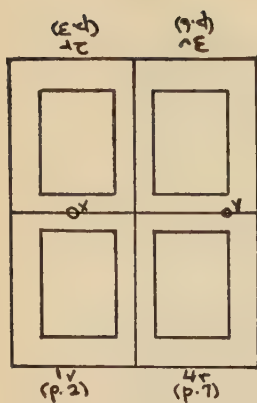


Fig. 1: Inner forme

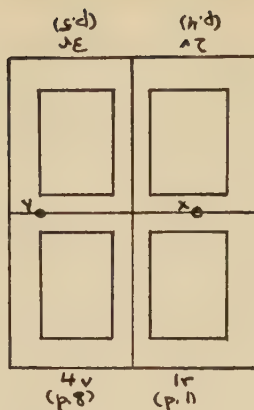


Fig. 2: Outer forme

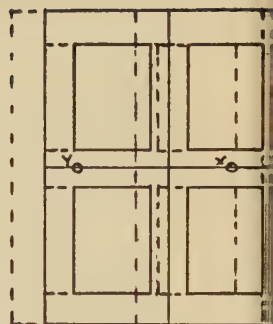


Fig. 3

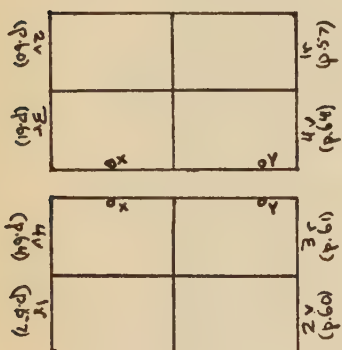


Fig. 4:

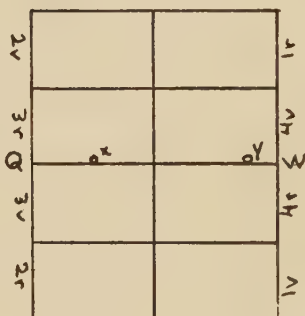


Fig. 5A

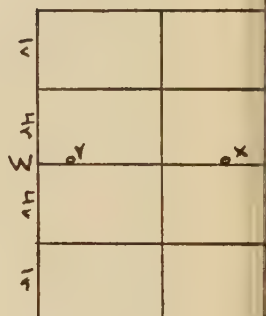


Fig. 5B

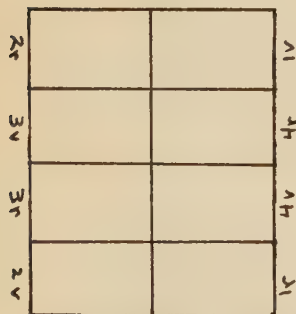


Fig. 6

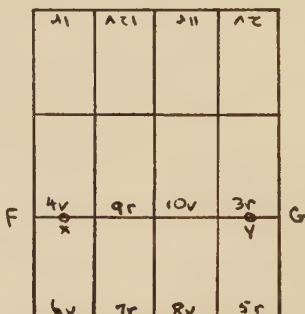


Fig. 7A

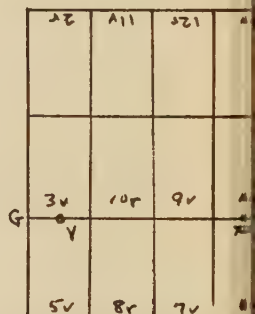


Fig. 7B

would be so greatly off center that the printer would probably notice it at once.

If the printer did not notice it, then, of course, the sheet would be wrongly perfected with 1 recto backed by 3 verso and so on, but the text of 1 recto and of all other outer forme pages would greatly overlap the text of 3 verso and of all other inner forme pages, as indicated by the dotted lines in Fig. 3. That is, the register would be incorrect. Register, however, is normally correct in wrongly perfected sheets. So it would seem that wrong perfecting of folio, quarto, or octavo sheets on the hand press seldom if ever resulted from a turned sheet or heap, if Moxon and later writers described regular practice with points.

That Moxon's advice was generally followed may be seen from untrimmed copies of early books. In folio sheets, of course, the point holes are in the fold and are therefore often hard to locate, but in untrimmed quartos they may be found in the upper margins, and in untrimmed octavos in the outer margins of two of the last four leaves.

One Folger book preserves the point holes in a wrongly perfected half sheet as shown in Fig. 4, 5, and 6. The book is *The Theatrical Examiner* (London, J. Doughty, 1757), an octavo in fours (each gathering is folded from a half-sheet) with collation as follows: [A]¹, B-N⁴, Q¹. In Folger copy cs 342 gathering I is printed as follows (a colon separates each page from the page backing it): 1 recto: 2 verso, 1 recto: 2 verso, 3 recto: 4 verso, 3 recto: 4 verso—or in terms of pages 57:60, 57:60, 61:64, 61:64. Fig. 4 shows what both sides of the unfolded half sheet would look like, together with the point holes X and Y.

The printer's intention, of course, was to print two copies of the gathering on a whole sheet, which would have looked like that shown in Fig. 5A and Fig. 5B, and, indeed, in Folger copy cs 399 (an unopened copy) gathering I is actually like the upper half of the sheet shown, points and all. After printing, the sheet would be cut along line QW and form two copies of gathering I. Both sides of the sheet were printed from one forme like that outlined in Fig. 6. This is called "half sheet imposition" and this particular copy of gathering I is rather interesting because the wrong perfecting is such as McKerrow remarked (*Introduction*, p. 68) would prove half sheet imposition, but he had been unable to find an example.

So much for folio, quarto, and octavo. In twelvemos (see Fig. 7A and 7B) Moxon (*loc. cit.*) and his successors advised that the points should be placed equally distant from the edges of the sheet, apparently in the line FG along which the sheet was afterward cut before folding. In untrimmed

twelvemos the point holes may be seen in the upper margins of leaves 5 and 6 or the lower margins of leaves 3 and 4. They have survived, for instance, in Folger copies of *The Theatrical Bouquet* (London, T. Lowndes, 1778) and Edward Williams, *Poems Lyric and Pastoral* (London, J. Nichols [etc.] 1794). In the twelvemo sheet also, the points would prevent wrong perfecting by turning the sheet. If point hole X were slipped over point Y and point hole Y over point X one whole third of the sheet (leaves 1, 11, 2, and 12) would lie entirely off the forme, a situation bound to be noticed by the pressman.

There remains McKerrow's alternative explanation that wrong perfecting might result from "the second forme printed having been placed the wrong way round on the bed of the press." Apparently this is what happened in most if not all cases of wrong perfecting on the hand press.

PAUL S. DUNKIN

Two Issues of Crabbe's "Works" (1823)

One of the many problems long known, never decided, and thus variously construed in booksellers' catalogues relates to the publication of the 1823 demy octavo set, in five volumes, of George Crabbe's *Works*. As originally reported by John Sparrow,¹ this set exists in the several forms distinguished by the following labels and bindings:

1) *Without engravings*

Label: WORKS | OF THE | REV. G. CRABBE. | [rule] |
FIVE VOLS. | £2.12s.6d. | [rule] | VOL. I. | POEMS.

Binding: gray boards, gray-blue cloth, or blue-green cloth.

2) *With engravings*

Label: WORKS | OF THE | REV. G. CRABBE. | WITH |
Thirty-one Engravings. | [rule] | FIVE VOLS. | £5.12s.6d.

Binding: blue-gray boards.

These indications, as Mr. Sparrow observed, allow "no argument . . . as to the relative dates at which the various copies were issued." From the covers certainly nothing can be adduced. From the labels it is occasionally presumed, however, that the more expensive and less common variant was published before or simultaneously with the ordinary issue.

This assumption is not substantiated by the price quoted in the advertisements. On Saturday, December 14, 1822, the *London Literary Gazette*

¹ *Bibliographical Notes and Queries*, II, No. 1 (January, 1936), query 90.

announced the publication of two sets, described as "5 vols. 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d. And also in 8 vols. Foolscap 8vo 2l. 8s." Then on December 21, and again on January 11, 1823, the *Gazette* subtended to this announcement, "Thirty-one Plates, by Westall and Heath, to illustrate both Editions., 2l. 2s." Those who possessed the larger demy edition (the one for which the plates were intended) were therefore privileged to use the engravings, not only as illustrations, but as adornments within the text—all at a total cost, for books and plates, of £4-14-6. But those who preferred to wait for what must now be regarded as the later issue, with the plates inserted, were required to pay, as the labels attest, a considerable premium of 18 shillings for their inclusion.

Though advertisements for the later issue are unavailable, it would seem that this did not appear until some time after the first of March. On that date John Murray, the publisher, again resorted to the *Gazette* to advise the readers, in an extended essay on the subject, that Westall's illustrations merited the attention of all who had purchased the *Works*.

WILLIAM B. TODD

*Baldwin's "Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi"—
a Bibliographical Note*

Joseph G. Baldwin's *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi* (1853) is commonly described by literary critics and commentators as a "minor classic" of American literature, but no critical edition of this popular work¹ has ever appeared nor has anyone even collated *Flush Times* with the sketches Baldwin contributed to the *Southern Literary Messenger*.² The

¹ The Library of Congress Catalogue lists editions as follows: New York, D. Appleton, 1853; N. Y., Appleton, 1854 (9th thousand); *ibid.*, 2nd edition; N. Y., Appleton, 1856 (11th thousand); San Francisco, S. Whitney, 1876 (11th [*sic*] thousand); S. F., Bancroft-Whitney, 1887 (11th thousand); S. F., Bancroft-Whitney, 1889 (11th thousand); and Americus, Georgia, Americus Book Company, 1908. My own copy is another "11th thousand" issued by Appleton in 1866. The Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis) has one more "11th thousand" published by S. Whitney in 1883. Probably there were a number of other printings or editions.

² The basic account for what few biographical sketches exist is George F. Mellen, "Baldwin and Flush Times," in: *Sewanee Review*, I: 171-184 (April, 1901), which is essentially the same as Mellen's account of Baldwin in the *Library of Southern Literature*, I: 175 ff. The best piece by a contemporary (though it is not factually informative) is Thomas B. Wetmore, "Joseph G. Baldwin," in: *Alabama Historical Society Transactions*, II: 67-73 (1897-1898); the most recent is J. H. Nelson's in the *DAB*, I: 538-539. In the last thirty years two other contributions have

present bibliographical note may help call attention once more to this amusing volume. Examination of *SLM* reveals that five sketches clearly by Baldwin were not included in the book publication and that nine pieces in *Flush Times* were not originally printed in *SLM* (there is a reasonable chance, however, that they may be found in the files of some other periodical or newspaper).³ I shall first list the contributions to *SLM*, with summaries of the pieces not reprinted in *Flush Times*, and then list the new items found only in the book.

Southern Literary Messenger

"Ovid Bolus, Esq. Attorney at Law and Solicitor in Chancery. A Fragment," *SLM*, XVIII: 433-438 (July, 1852). Published under the general heading: "Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama (*Not found in Pickett's History*)."
Not signed. No editorial note identifying the author. In *Flush Times*, pp. 1-19.

"My First Appearance at the Bar." *SLM*, XVIII: 558-565 (September, 1852). Published under heading: "Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama (*Not found in Pickett's History*)."
Signed: J.C.R. *Flush Times*: 20-46.

"The Bench and the Bar." *SLM*, XVIII: 674-681 (November, 1852). General heading: "Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi." Not signed. *Flush Times*: 47-71.

"How the Times Served the Virginians. Virginians in a New Country. The Rise, Decline and Fall of the Rag Empire." *SLM*, XVIII: 746-756 (December, 1852). General heading: "Sketches of the Flush

been published concerning Baldwin and his work: William Braswell, "An Unpublished California Letter of Joseph Glover Baldwin," in: *American Literature*, II: 292-294 (November, 1930); and Hunter Dickinson Farish, "An Overlooked Personality in Southern Life," in: *North Carolina Historical Review*, XII: 341-355 (October, 1935). The latter article identifies Samuel Hele, Esq., of *Flush Times* as Samuel Augustus Hale, a lawyer of Livingston, Alabama. It is to be hoped that some student of Alabama history before the Civil War will undertake a critical edition of *Flush Times*; those of its characters who are half-hidden under pseudonyms ought to be readily identifiable. An evaluation of this book as an account of a frontier society could then be arrived at. That such books have importance as social history as well as comic literature needs to be emphasized.

³ David K. Jackson did list most of the Baldwin sketches in his *The Contributors and Contributions to the Southern Literary Messenger (1834-1864)* (Charlottesville, Hist. Pub. Co., Inc., 1936). However, in four instances he listed only the leading title for a contribution without indicating that such contributions sometimes ran to as many as three independent sketches; six titles therefore do not appear in his list. One other item he completely missed. The nature of his project, of course, precluded collation with *Flush Times*.

- Times of Alabama (*Not found in Pickett's History*).” Not signed. *Flush Times*: 72-105. Although this piece has a triple title, it appears as a continuous story in both *SLM* and *FT*.
- “Stocking a Laugh.” *SLM*, XIX: 10-12 (January, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.” Sub-title: “The Bench and Bar.” Not signed. Not in *Flush Times*.
- “Stocking a Laugh” recounts the efforts of the lawyers of a Circuit Court in the 1840’s to suppress one Ransed Maloney whose single specialty was long-winded and repetitious “demurrers as applied to a count on a promissory note.” Like other sketches this one has a good build up but no true development—Ransed in action is effectively handled, but the taking down of Ransed by Jonathan Joy is merely reported.
- “Assault and Battery.” *SLM*, XIX: 12-15 (January, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.” Sub-title: “The Bench and Bar.” Not signed. Not listed by Jackson. *Flush Times*: 106-113; neither general heading nor sub-title used.
- “Simon Suggs, Jr. Esq. A Legal Biography.” *SLM*, XIX: 65-74 (February, 1853). No general heading. Not signed. *Flush Times*: 114-141.
- “Squire A. and the Fritters.” *SLM*, XIX: 86-88 (February, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.” Not signed. *Flush Times*: 142-146.
- “Jonathan and the Constable.” *SLM*, XIX: 88-89 (February, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.” Not signed. Not listed by Jackson. *Flush Times*: 147-150.
- “Sharp Financiering.” *SLM*, XIX: 89-90 (February, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.” Not signed. Not listed by Jackson. *Flush Times*: 151-152.
- “Cave Burton, Esq., of Kentucky.” *SLM*, XIX: 214-222 (April, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama.” Not signed. *Flush Times*: 153-176.
- “Justification after Verdict.” *SLM*, XIX: 332-337 (June, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama.” Not signed. *Flush Times*: 177-191.
- “An Affair of Honor.” *SLM*, XIX: 337-338 (June, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama.” Not signed. Not listed by Jackson. *Flush Times*: 192-196.
- “Hon. S. S. Prentiss.” *SLM*, XIX: 409-417 (July, 1853). General heading: “Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.” Not signed. *Flush Times*: 197-222.

"The Bar of the South-West." *SLM*, XIX: 465-474 (August, 1853).

General heading: "Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama." Not signed. *Flush Times*: 223-249.

"The Hon. Francis Strother." *SLM*, XIX: 553-557 (September, 1853).

General heading: "Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama." Not signed. *Flush Times*: 250-263.

"Mr. Tee and Mr. Gee." *SLM*, XIX: 557-559 (September, 1853).

General heading: "Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama." Not signed. Not listed by Jackson. *Flush Times*: 264-270.

"Scan. Mag." *SLM*, XIX: 560 (September, 1853). General heading:

"Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama." Not signed. Not listed by Jackson. *Flush Times*: 271-272.

"Benjamin Oppelt, Esq., of Mississippi." *SLM*, XIX: 599-605 (October, 1853). General heading:

"Sketches of the Flush Times of Alabama." Not signed. Not in *Flush Times*. The obvious reason why this and the other "Flush Times"-type sketches listed below were not included in the book must be that it had gone to press immediately after the *SLM* September sketches were available.⁴

This piece purports to be a sketch of a member of the bar and probate judge who is reported "under the shadow of no nom de guerre."

"California Flush Times." *SLM*, XIX: 665-670 (November, 1853).

No other heading. Signed: "By the author of Flush Times of Alabama." Not in *Flush Times*.

This purports to be a letter from an Emigrant, dated San Francisco, June 15, 1850. In reality it is a burlesque of the accounts of California that were flooding the country in travel books and of the Californians themselves: "You think you've seen Flush Times. . . . The times of 1836 in Mississippi were quiet, dull, tame, insipid, flat, stale, unprofitable—to what they are here now."

"Uncle John Rosser and the Billy Goat." *SLM*, XX: 120-123 (February, 1854). No other heading. Signed: "Flush." Not in *Flush Times*.

"Uncle John Rosser was as full of fun as Billy. . . . Two humorists can't get along in one neighborhood any more than two country doctors." Uncle J.'s idea of a joke was to give the goat apples stuffed with snuff. One day when the blacksmith was repairing a wagon, the goat butted him into a watering trough. To get revenge, Uncle J. fitted a kettle over his own head and tempted the goat to butt him so that Billy would get his countenance "considerably damaged" by the kettle legs. Billy butted and withdrew from the field: but Uncle

⁴ The many re-issues of the book were mere printings; in none I have examined was new material added.

John had the kettle knocked down over his ears and had his handsome nose broken.

"General Gymm and Colonel Burrows." *SLM*, XX: 228-234 (April, 1854). No other heading. No signature on contribution but in table of contents: "By the Author of 'Flush Times'." Not listed by Jackson. Not in *Flush Times*.

General Gymm was a gentleman by profession: "He had never . . . degraded his talents or prostituted his accomplishments to an ignoble calling: he lived on the Gentlemanly." Colonel Burrows was "a man of remarkable sagacity, hard-sense, acute, practical, and well-informed." The colonel set out to collect a hopeless debt from the general. His approach was to apologize for the remissness of his clerks in allowing a gentleman's note to be overdue for two or three years—a mistake which could now be rectified immediately. The general countered with an involved story about his aunt and the legislature of Georgia: she might have been elected speaker except that some members objected to addressing the presiding officer as Mrs. Speaker and so she was not elected and so she did not get the \$8 per day and so the general her nephew and heir did not get it and so he was unable to pay this small debt.⁵

Flush Times

[The following pieces were included in *Flush Times*, 1853, but were not published in *SLM*. It is probable that they appeared in an Alabama newspaper prior to October, 1853.]

"An Equitable Set-Off." pp. 273-275.

⁵ Two other contributions by Baldwin are to be found in *SLM*. (1) "Representative Men. Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay," XIX: 521-530, 585-598 (September and October, 1853). Not signed. However, this was part of the material of his book *Party Leaders, Sketches of Thomas Jefferson, Alex'r Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, John Randolph of Roanoke, including sketches of many other distinguished American Statesmen*, published by Appleton in New York, 1854, and reviewed in *SLM*, XXI: 65-71 (February, 1855). Although most of the copies of this work bear an 1855 title page date, the preface was dated Livingston, Alabama, July, 1854, and the copyright was 1854. "Only one of these papers—Jackson and Clay—in a somewhat ruder form," Baldwin wrote in his preface, "has been heretofore published." In the headnote to the review the editor said: "This is not the first appearance of our author, Mr. Baldwin, in the Messenger or in book form before the public, our Messenger readers having been delighted during a series of numbers by the sketches of the Flush times of Alabama and Mississippi; which work revised and enlarged was lately published, and has had a wide circulation." (2) "The Genius and Character of Alexander Hamilton," XXII: 371-380 (May, 1856). Signed: J. G. Baldwin. An editorial headnote reads: "Our old correspondent, the author of the 'Flush Times of Alabama,' has renewed his intercourse with the readers of the *Messenger* from California, in this strongly drawn sketch, which was originally published as a lecture for a literary society in Sacramento."

"A Cool Rejoinder." p. 275.

"A Hung Court." pp. 276-283.

"Samuel Hele, Esq." pp. 284-303.

"John Stout, Esq., and Mark Sullivan." pp. 304-311.

"Mr. Onslow." pp. 312-316.

"Jo. Heyfron." pp. 316-317.

"Old Uncle John Olive." pp. 318-323.

"Examining a Candidate for a License." pp. 324-330.

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

Twain Titles in Scott's "Woodstock" (1826)

A common expedient for reducing the presswork on a book is that of setting a disjunct leaf in duplicate, imposing the pages so that the two rectos appear in one forme, the two versos in the other (or all in the same forme for half-sheet imposition), and then secting the sheet to provide two identical copies. Whenever a separate leaf is required for insertion at the beginning, the end, or as a cancel within the book, the advantage of the method described encourages the supposition that it may have been the one devised.

The cancel title-page for the first octavo volume of *Woodstock* provides a typical instance of this procedure. Two settings were arranged, one (A) as represented by the facsimile in Van Antwerp's *A Collector's Comment on His First Editions*,¹ one (B) as evidenced by a copy in my possession. Between them the following points may be observed:

	(A)	(B)
Semicolon in first line	above "E" of CAVALIER	to the right of "E"
Rule below quotation	aligned with upper rule	displaced to the right
Dash above date	13 mm.	15 mm.

Very probably these two pages and their versos (both blank) occupied the remaining space in the forme which originally contained the letterpress for the final gathering X². If so disposed, for half-sheet imposition, each undivided sheet would include two copies of X and four copies of the titles (two of each setting), an arrangement which would permit the removal of the titles halfway through the impression and the substitution of other piecework.

WILLIAM B. TODD

¹ (San Francisco, 1932), facing p. 138.

Bibliography The World Over: Some Recent Developments

AUSTRIA

In the annual volume of the *Oesterreichische Bibliographie* for 1945 appears, on page 52, the following supplementary title from 1944:

Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Wiener Buchdruckerei. Bd. I. (Wien): Ueberreuter (1944) 699 S. 4°. Ohne Preis.

During an air raid on Vienna on November 5, 1944, 191 copies of the edition of 200 were destroyed while in the bindery. In 1949, the nine copies which had been saved were bound in half leather, one being deposited in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, one being retained by the printer, and the other seven apparently being deposited in various other libraries in Vienna. The work contains extracts from previously published works relating to the oldest Vienna printing office, the Carl Ueberreutersche Buchdruckerei und Schriftgiesserei M. Salzer, beginning with Johannes Carbo (Khol) in 1458.

BELGIUM

In 1947, M. Théodore Heyse published in the *Bulletin des Séances* of Institut Royal Colonial Belge, vol. XVIII, no. 3, pp. 736-777 (also issued separately) a bibliography of bibliographies of Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, 1933-1947, as a part of his paper entitled "A propos d'un Index bibliographique général du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi." A running commentary by him on Belgian colonial bibliographies, 1876-1933, was published in the periodical *Zaire*, June, 1948, reprinted in a pamphlet of 20 pages entitled *Le travail bibliographique colonial belge de 1876 jusqu'en 1933*. In 1948, Monsieur Heyse presented to the Institut Royal Colonial Belge a "rapport d'ensemble" for the Commission de l'Index bibliographique général du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, printed in the *Bulletin des Séances*, vol. XIX, no. 4, pp. 883-890.

Not only has Monsieur Heyse published these reviews and plans, but he has edited the three volumes of *Index bibliographique colonial: Congo belge et Ruanda-Urundi* (Inbicol) published at Brussels by G. Van Campenhout, 1937-1940. In addition, he is actively engaged in preparation of a *Bibliographie du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi*, 1939- , unnumbered sections of which have been published by Van Campenhout in the series "Cahiers belges et congolais" as follows:

Géologie et mines. 1946. 42 p. (Cahiers 4).

Régime foncier. 1947. 52 p. (Cahiers 5).

Littérature—Arts oraux indigènes. 1948. 32 p. (Cahiers 6).

Agriculture, élevage, produits et industries agricoles, forêts, chasse, pêche, parcs, flore et faune. 1948. 160 p. (Cahiers 7).

Transports, travaux publics.—P.T.T. et radiodiffusion.—Forces hydro-électriques. 1949. 46 p. (Cahiers 9).

Economie générale.—Industrie et commerce.—Effort de guerre.—Banques et finances.—Matières économiques spéciales.—Main-d'oeuvre (partie non-législative). 1949. 62 p. (Cahiers 10).

Beaux-arts.—Urbanisme.—Arts indigènes.—Cinéma. 1950. 46 p. (Cahiers 11).

In addition, Monsieur Heyse published during 1949 the second part of the legal section in the monthly *Belgique coloniale et commerce internationale*, Brussels, under the title "Bibliographie juridique du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, 1939-1949," the first part having been printed in the *Anglo-Belgian trade journal*, London, from July-August, 1944, to January-April, 1947. A record of current literature on the Belgian colonies appears regularly in the magazine *Zaire*, published at Brussels.

BRAZIL

Manual bibliográfico de estudos brasileiros is the title of a handbook of more than 900 pages published at Rio de Janeiro by Grafica Editora Souza in 1949 under the editorship of Rubens Borba de Moraes and William Berrien. Nearly 6,000 titles, including a number in periodicals and newspapers, are described and annotated in sections dealing with Brazilian history, geography, ethnology and folklore and the disciplines of art, education, philology, literature, music, law, and sociology as practiced in Brazil. A section of ten pages lists reference works. Since the handbook was prepared mainly by Brazilian collaboration, the prefaces to the sections and notes are in Portuguese. Originally the work was scheduled for publication in 1943, and the references are mostly previous to 1940. For the field covered, this represents the basic Brazilian literature.

BULGARIA

The first annual of the Bulgarian Bibliographical Institute at Sofia, a volume of more than 700 pages for 1945-1946 published late in 1948, under the title *Godišnik na Bălgarskija bibliografski institut*, is dedicated to the great Bulgarian bibliographer, Nicolas V. Michoff, on his seventieth birthday with a special title-page as follows: *Sbornik v čest na Nikola V.*

Mikhoi po slučai negovata sedemdesetgodishina, 18 Mart 1947. Included is a bibliography of Michoff's contributions. The variety of the contributions in the volume, bibliographical and otherwise, augur well for the future work of the Institute. Included are also basic documents concerning the establishment and functioning of the Institute.

CHILE

At Santiago, Chile, in April, 1945, the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Chilenos was founded under the presidency of Ricardo Donoso, historian and director of the National Archives. The membership is limited to a hundred. The Society has published the following works each in an edition of 100, limited to the membership:

Cartas de don Juan Egaña a su hijo Mariano, 1824-1828. Introducción de Alfonso Bulnes. Santiago, 1946. 263 pp. 6 plates.

Diario de don Isidoro Errázuriz, 1851-1856. Introducción de Eugenio Pereira Salas. Santiago, 1947. XXVIII, 415 p. 6 plates.

Cartas de don Mariano Egaña a su padre, 1824-1829. Introducción de Aniceto Almeyda. Santiago, 1948. XXVI, 371 p. 1 plate.

In addition, the Society publishes a periodical entitled *El Bibliófilo chileno*, *órgano de la Sociedad de bibliófilos chilenos*, of which six numbers with a total of 78 pages have been issued, the edition of each being limited to 200 copies.

COLOMBIA

During the period 1940-42, Eduardo Posada with the assistance of Gustavo Otero Muñoz had prepared and set up in type 176 pages of a third volume of his *Bibliografía bogotana*. Volumes 1 and 2 had been published in 1917 and 1925 as vols. 16 and 36 of the *Biblioteca de historia nacional*, constituting an annotated chronological record of 1410 imprints in Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, from 1738 through 1830. On the death of Posada on October 31, 1942, and the subsequent absence of Otero Muñoz from Bogotá, the work lapsed. In 1950, the *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, the organ of the Academia Colombiana de Historia, obtained a copy of the proof, and through September has printed entries no. 1411 to 1610, extending the record from 1831 to the beginning of 1834.

FRANCE

In 1950 has been published at the Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, the second volume (Dordogne-Lozère) of the *Bibliographie générale des tra-*

vieux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les sociétés savantes de la France, 1910-1940, prepared by René Gandilhon, in continuation of the great work of the same title by Robert Lasteyrie du Saillant, which with supplements covers from the beginning to 1910. The first volume (Ain-Creuse) appeared in 1944, and four more volumes are planned to complete the work, continuing with vol. 3 (Maine-et-Loire-Savoie, Haute) in 1951.

MEXICO

The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores of Mexico published in February, 1949, although the title-page is dated 1948, through its Departamento de Información para el Extranjero, the first volume of the second series of *Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas* under the title *Bibliografía del istmo de Tehuantepec*. Between 1925 and 1935, the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores published, apparently through the initiative and interest of the late Genaro Estrada, thirty-one volumes in the valuable set *Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas*. Between 1937 and 1940, the former Departamento Autónomo de Publicidade y Propaganda and finally the Secretaría de Educación Pública published eight volumes in a similar series entitled *Bibliografías mexicanas*. In the two series, considerable contribution has been made to the national bibliography of Mexico, including nine titles devoted to individual states and territories.

In the first volume of the new series relating to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Rafael Carrasco Puente, who is director of the Hemeroteca Nacional de México, has assembled 2383 items in alphabetical order followed by an appendix and by indexes to topics and persons, there being a total of XXIX, 634 pages. Many elusive articles in periodicals and newspapers have been included, and even manuscript materials, the location in libraries and archives (private as well as public) being noted. Repeated proposals, recently renewed, to reduce the distance by water from North American ports on the Atlantic to those on the Pacific by a canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in southern Mexico may make many of the references of potential interest.

A most substantial contribution towards the bibliography of works in and about the native Mexican languages might be the characterization of the *Catálogo de obras escritas en lenguas indígenas de México o que tratan de ellas en la biblioteca particular de Salvador Ugarte* (xxix, 221 p.) issued at Mexico, D.F., in 1949 through the Editorial Jus. In addition to 400 printed works in his own collection, Ugarte has included descriptions of some thirty titles from three other private collections in the alphabetical

arrangement by author and title. References are made in the alphabetical index to sixty-odd Mexican native languages.

PORTUGAL

In *Da famoso arte da imprimissão* (Lisboa, 1948, 507 p.), Américo Cortez Pinto deals with the problems of the early printing in Portugal and of early Portuguese printing abroad, leading to the conclusion that printing must have been introduced into Portugal in 1465 at Leiria. In vol. 1 (1941) of the *Bibliografia geral portuguesa* (Academia das ciências de Lisboa) dealing with the incunabula period, the first printing recorded is at Faro in 1487.

The extent of bibliographical publication in Portugal during the period 1940-50 is indicated by 52 titles in the section on bibliography in the *Exposição de livros portugueses: catálogo* (Lisbon, printed 1950, 152 p.) prepared for the "Colloquium" Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., October 18-21, 1950.

The *Achegas para a bibliografia de Moçambique* (1949, 135 p.) by Filipe Gastão de Almeida de Eça, supplementing the *Bibliografia geral de Moçambique* (1946, 359 p.) by Mário Costa, both published by the Agência geral das colónias at Lisbon represent a natural interest in the Portuguese possessions outside the Peninsula.

RUSSIA

In the classified semi-annual national bibliography of the Soviet Union published by the Vsesoiûznaia knizhnaia palata at Moscow under the title *Ezhegodnik knigi SSSR*, 114 titles are included under the heading Bibliography in the second half of 1947. In the volumes for 1946, the first full year after the war, there were 58 titles in the first half year, and 75 in the second half. In the volume *Bibliografiâ sovetskoi bibliografii 1946* (Moskva, Vsesoiûznaia knizhnaia palata, 1948, [168] p.), an annual classified index of bibliographies in books, periodicals, etc., there are 2,634 entries. In the previous volume for 1939, published in 1941, there were 4,795 entries.

Under the title *Trudy biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR*, the Soviet Academy of Sciences has published at Moscow and Leningrad late in 1948 the first volume of bibliographical contributions covering in 230 pages a range in fields as wide as those of the various sections of the Academy. A few of the features may be mentioned specifically. A two-page chrono-

logical list of catalogues of the Academy publications from the 18th to the 20th centuries is appended to an article on pp. 54-66, relative to the bibliography of the publications of the Academy. A seven-page bibliography of bibliographies of academic dissertations concludes the study of pp. 79-111 of the bibliography of theses. Seventy-four Russian editions of *Das Kapital* are recorded at the conclusion of a study of these on pp. 112-141. A consideration of the *Kniga marsova*, the early work printed at St. Petersburg in 1713, appears on pp. 156-168. An article on Russian technical literature of the 18th century occupies pp. 194-209.

A catalogue of Soviet doctoral dissertations for the War period, 1941-1944, entitled *Bibliografiâ dissertatsiû, doktorskie dissertatsiû za 1941-1944 gg.*, extending to 182 pages, was published in 1946 by the Gosudarstvennaia Ordena Lenina Biblioteka im. V. I. Lenina at Moscow, often referred to as the Lenin State Library. A total of 559 theses, mostly not then in printed form, are listed by subject rather than by institution, a note of the contents being given in each case. In 1947 a volume for 1945 was published, describing 241 theses.

Under the title *Sovetskaiâ bibliografiâ, sbornik statei i materialov*, the Vsesoiuznaia Knizhnaia Palata (All-Union Book Chamber) at Moscow published in 1946-47 the first four numbers of an irregular journal of bibliographical contributions. Marking the 30th anniversary of the October revolution in 1917, the 4th number of 88 p. late in 1947 contains articles on thirty years of Soviet national bibliography, on the system of obligatory copies in the USSR during thirty years, and on Soviet bibliographical statistics during the same period. In the series considerable information is given concerning the bibliographical activities of the book chambers in the various republics of the USSR.

According to a newspaper report late in February, 1950, a conference of the directors of the book chambers of the 19 republics had been held recently at Moscow. Among other things, there was a report on the reestablishment of collections and records by those, such as that of the Ukraine, that had suffered great destruction and loss in the Second World War. Progress in the establishment of a complete record of all Russian publications since the October revolution of 1917 was discussed. In the field of retrospective bibliography, the Book Chamber of Georgia seems to have published the first volume of a record of books printed in Georgia to 1920, and the Book Chamber of Armenia, a register of all Armenian periodicals, 1794-1934.

SPAIN

The Asociación de Bibliófilos de Barcelona was established on June 22, 1944. Previously, the founders of the Society had held at the Palacio de la Virreina in Barcelona, December 15, 1943-January 30, 1944, an exhibit of Spanish books and bindings of the second half of the 18th century and romantic period, the Amigos de los Museos holding at the same time and place an exhibit of the paintings of Vicente López. The Society was constituted with a membership of 100 from Barcelona and elsewhere, under the presidency of Don Alfonso Macaya. Its first publication celebrating the exhibit and its founding was entitled simply *Asociación de bibliófilos de Barcelona, 1944*. Also in 1944, the Society published *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, by J. E. Martínez Ferrando, and its *Estatutos y lista de socios*.

Principally for its members, the Society has published the following:

- El Capitán Veneno*, by Alarcón. Prologue by Manuel de Montoliu, illustrations by Mallol Suazo and decorations by Teodoro Miciano. 1945.
Cantar de los Cantares, version and commentary by Fray Luis de León. Prologue by Montoliu and illustrations by Segrelles. 1946.
Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra turcos y griegos, by Francisco de Moncada. Text revised by Pedro Bohigas. Prologue and notes by General D. Luis Faraudo de Saint-Germain and illustrations by Miciano. 1947.
Tirante el Blanco, Spanish version of Valladolid. Text, prologue and notes by Martín Riquer. 1947.

From time to time the Society holds meetings at which dissertations have been presented on themes of bibliographical content. Among those who have appeared thus are Marqués de Mura, Vilella, Prats Tomás, Sedó Paris-Mancheta, Porter, Macaya, and Miquel y Planas.

In 1947, the Biblioteca Central of the Diputación Provincial of Barcelona (formerly the Biblioteca de Cataluña) published the third volume of the *Catálogo de la colección cervantina* covering the period 1855-1890 (entries 855-1508). Vol. 1 appeared in 1941, and the final volume (4) is yet to come. Juan Givanel Mas, the curator of the Cervantes collection and editor of the catalogue, died on December 19, 1946. A catalogue in Catalan of the collection brought together by Isidro Bonsoms i Sicart edited by Givanel Mas had been published by the Library at Barcelona in three volumes from 1916 through 1925.

In 1948, the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas at Madrid, Spain, published the seventh and final volume (322 p.) of the *Catálogo de sus libros impresos* of the Biblioteca Colombina at the Cathedral in

Seville, covering the letter T to the end of the alphabet with an index to the whole work. The library collected by Fernando, the son of Christopher Columbus, is characterized in the preface as "una de las más estimables colecciones de libros raros del mundo." The first volume of the catalogue was issued in 1888, and the sixth about 1930, all at Seville, the first five being printed on a special paper.

SWITZERLAND

The Schweizerische Landesbibliothek at Berne has beginning with the year 1946 issued three annual numbers of the *Bibliographie der schweizerischen Amtsdruckschriften-Bibliographie des publications officielles suisses*, each arranged in four sections—federal, cantonal, municipal and diocesan. All three have been edited by André Dormond. The third number of 86 pages for 1948 includes 395 items.

VENEZUELA

Under the title *Índice de periódicos y periodistas del Estado Zulia* (1821-1948) the Cámara de Comercio de Maracaibo published late in 1948 a chronological record of the newspapers and periodicals printed in Zulia state in Venezuela from the beginning of printing, a work of 142 pages prepared by Jose López de Sagredo y Bru, secretary of the chamber. Apparently this is the most recent and most extensive addition to the sparse representation of bibliographies of the Venezuelan states recorded by the late Manuel Segundo Sanchez in his "Bibliografía de índices bibliográficos relativos a Venezuela" printed on pages 428-442 of no. 5 (1939) of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. In the states of Venezuela, periodicals and newspapers seem to constitute the great bulk of the output of the press. For Venezuela, printing was established in Zulia state relatively early, the first press in 1821 being less than fifteen years after the first Venezuelan press at Caracas. In all, about 500 titles are listed, together with a biographical register of editors and publishers. Most of the titles were printed at Maracaibo, the capital. The first literary periodical appeared in 1839; the first state official gazette, in 1849; the first daily paper, in 1859; the first medical periodical in 1883; and the first and only paper in English, in 1928.

JAMES B. CHILDS

Book Reviews

MALCLÈS, L.-N. *Les Sources du Travail bibliographique. Préface by Julien Cain. Tome I. Bibliographies générales.* Genève, Librairie E. Droz, 1950. xvi, 364 pp. 10 x 6½ inches.

At the Sorbonne in the past, Langlois cultivated bibliography in the training of historians; later, Barrau-Dihigo, in the training of bibliographers; and now, Mademoiselle Malclès under the light of their tradition, in the training of librarians.

The present work is the outgrowth of lectures given since 1933, and has with the support and enthusiasm of the students as well as with the assistance of various specialists been expanded to a basic bibliographic handbook. Mlle. Malclès has proceeded on the assumption that general bibliographies "constituent le soubassement de tout l'édifice bibliographique et que l'on ne peut guère, en technique professionnelle, concevoir de discussions, de projets ou de progrès sans la connaissance approfondie des conditions dans lesquelles s'élaborent et vivent les bibliographies générales dont dérivent les bibliographies spécialisées, indispensable aux chercheurs et aux savants." Two further volumes are planned to be devoted to specialized bibliographies.

The following enumeration of chapter topics gives scarcely any impression of the great emphasis placed upon national bibliography: General view of the bibliographical field, Bibliographies of bibliography, Universal bibliographies, Printing and the book in the 15th and 16th centuries, Printed library catalogues, Union catalogues, National bibliographies, Encyclopedias, Biographical dictionaries, Bibliographies and directories of periodicals, Indexes to periodicals, and Encyclopedias of the book arts and technical vocabularies of the librarian and publisher. About one hundred pages are devoted to the national bibliographies of France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, Latin America, Mexico, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Scandinavian countries, Portugal and Switzerland. A separate section of nearly sixty pages at the end of the volume is devoted to the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe as follows: Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union.

The systematic and descriptive treatment of French national bibliography, characteristic of the whole volume, alone should be of special interest to many. At the beginning is an arrangement by period. Then, a very full statement about the current *Bibliographie de la France* is followed by records of best books and guides to new books, bibliographies of notable editions, illustrated books, etc., theses, and studies on national bibliography. An admirable chronological table concludes the section.

The very considerable accomplishment of this ambitious first volume may well outweigh any inadvertent omission or discrepancy. An inventory of the situation in the various fields and countries is not only extremely useful, but in calling attention to areas not covered, or inadequately covered, may be the means of stimulating work here and there along needed lines. The typographical arrangement of the manual is clear and easy to follow. The user of the first volume may well await the appearance of the second and third with eagerness.

JAMES B. CHILDS

WILKINS, ERNEST H. *The Prose Letters of Petrarch: A Manual*. New York, S. F. Vanni, 1951. 143 pp. 7½ x 5½ inches. \$4.50.

Into this slight volume, Professor Ernest H. Wilkins has compactly fitted an account of all the critical and historical apparatus which the student of Petrarch's correspondence requires. The material concerning the 576 extant letters of the great Italian humanist is divided into six sections: Part I records the various scholarly and antiquarian books in which the letters themselves may be consulted; Part II comprises indices of addressees and of places of writing; in Part III there are listed the many studies which deal with the dates of the letters; Part IV arranges the different discussions of the dates, letter by letter; Part V notes the 80 known letters addressed to Petrarch; and the final section is devoted to a list of incipits, the practical value of which is known to every cataloguer of mediaeval and renaissance manuscripts.

Professor Wilkins' new work replaces the same author's *Modern Discussions of the Dates of Petrarch's Prose Letters* (University of Chicago Press, 1929), now both out of print and out of date. The new and enlarged manual will unquestionably prove itself to be both a worthy successor to the earlier, universally esteemed, work and an indispensable tool of reference for anyone interested in Petrarch and his friends. Professor Wilkins gracefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Professors Giuseppe Billano-

vich and Roberto Weiss by stating that he considers them as "joint editors" with himself in the preparation of this invaluable handbook.

It would indeed be useful to have a similar *vade mecum* not only for the correspondence of such a humanist as Aldus Manutius but also for that of many another distinguished man-of-letters of whatever period, though it would take as experienced a hand as that of Professor Wilkins to make so much material available in so simple and convenient a form.

CURT F. BÜHLER

LEHMANN-HAUPT, HELLMUT. *The Book in America; a History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States*. By Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt In Collaboration with Lawrence C. Wroth and Rollo G. Silver. Second Edition. New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1951. xiv, 493 pp. 9¼ x 6¼ inches. \$10.00.

*The Book in America; a History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States** is a revised and completely reset edition of *The Book in America; a History of the Making, the Selling, and the Collecting of Books in the United States* (1939)—not, it will be observed (with that convulsive gesture known in cinematic circles as the double-take), quite the same thing. There is little if anything about book-collecting in this handsome new edition, because (to keep the book from being too bulky and costly) "publisher and editor regretfully decided to omit Miss [Ruth] Granniss's section on the history of book collecting and the growth of libraries from the present edition." With this shift of emphasis, the Huntington Library is referred to only as one of the "many important customers" of the late Charles Sessler, and the Berg Collection, the Houghton Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library and others too numerous to mention do not appear in the index at all. Owners of the first edition are strongly advised to hang on to it, when they order the revised edition. Miss Granniss's essay is not only missed; it leaves an aching void.

A page-by-page comparison of the two editions—an agreeable and instructive pastime, hereby recommended—shows the unobtrusive revision of the old text and the insertion of many findings from recent research. In the first hundred pages, the reader notes new material on binding, the printing of Bibles in the colonies, Adams presses, stereotyping and electrotyping, the early assembly line methods of the Harpers, and printers' unions. In this

* First published as *Der amerikanische Buchweser, Buchdruck, und Buchhandel, Bibliophilie und Bibliothekswesen in den Vereinigten Staaten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 1937).

section Dr. Wroth has had the invaluable assistance of Rollo G. Silver, formerly of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt's own section, "Book Production and Distribution from 1860 to the Present Day," is also so completely brought up to date as to include the history of Farrar, Straus & Young. Especially high praise goes to Kurt Wolff's firm, Pantheon Books, which "in eight years of existence has not issued a single trivial or merely popular title; nor a book chosen primarily because of its income-producing possibilities."

Janet Bogardus of the Columbia University Libraries contributes a 44-page bibliography of books and articles on Cultural History, Bibliography, Printing and Bookselling, Book Illustration, and Bookselling and Publishing which incorporates most of the bibliographical notes of the authors, supplemented "with such additional titles as seemed useful and important." A few errors might well be corrected in a later printing, notably the attribution of *Wide Margins; a Publisher's Autobiography* (1942) by George Palmer Putnam (1887-1950) to George Haven Putnam (1844-1930), which gives Major Putnam a rather formidable life-span. On the same page (462) Roger Burlingame of Scribner's appears as R. Burlingame, and on the opposite one, *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields* are reduced to one *Cost Book*.

On page 265, Dr. Lehmann-Haupt notes that "The tragic career of Frederick Conrad Bursch, who conducted the Literary Collector Press from 1903 to 1906, and the Killacre [*sic*] Bookhouse from 1909 to 1919, both in Greenwich, Connecticut, has recently been brought to light by Thomas A. Larremore." It might be noted here, since it is not so stated in the book or its bibliography, that Mr. Larremore's study of the Literary Collector Press and Hillacre Bookhouse first appeared in the First and Second Quarter, 1949, issues of these PAPERS.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

McKAY, GEORGE, *comp.* *A Stevenson Library. Catalogue of a Collection of Writings By and About Robert Louis Stevenson, Formed by Edwin J. Beincke.* Compiled by George L. McKay. Volume One. Printed Books, Pamphlets, Broad-sides, etc. New Haven, Yale University Library, 1951. xviii, 370 pp. Frontispiece (portrait), plates, facsimiles. 10 x 6¾ inches. \$10.00. Edition of 500 copies.

"R.L.S." has been a collector's writer since before the turn of the century, one of the first of the moderns avidly collected while he was still

alive. The first effort at a bibliography was by Arnold Wood, in 1898. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach catalogued the extensive Elkins holdings in 1913. Colonel W. F. Prideaux did a full-length bibliography in 1903 which was revised by Mrs. Luther S. Livingston in 1917. And Stevenson was subjected to the attentions of Thomas J. Wise, evidence enough that his contemporaries felt his first editions were desirable.

And so when Edwin J. Beinecke decided in 1929 to form not a collection, but *the* collection, of R.L.S., he was not exactly in on the ground floor. Yet a single-minded drive over a period of twenty-odd years landed him (and Yale, to whom his collection has recently been presented) at a point so high above other Stevenson collections as to be hidden in the clouds.

The present volume, dealing mainly with printed material, describes bibliographically first and many other editions. Its creator has been particularly interested not only in proofs, trial copies, association books, etc., but in subsequent editions notable for typography, illustrations, editing, and especially in translations. So here we have as complete a panorama of Stevenson's printed word as we are ever likely to find, or need.

The compiler, George L. McKay, has been at pains to differentiate, so far as possible, between English and American editions, especially as publication priority could be distinguished, and has quietly corrected many errors of previous cataloguers. No longer must we fret about the color of the end-papers of *New Arabian Nights*, Volume 1; they are *not* yellow. Nor need we puzzle over the inserted advertisements in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* (November 1881 or February 1882); on the publisher's evidence they have no significance. Nor need one worry about *Ticonderoga* being a Wise forgery, despite the doubts expressed by the 1946 catalogue of Wise holdings issued by the University of Texas.

But, with all praise to the compiler for his refusal to draw hard and fast conclusions as to the bibliographical primacy (as to issue, or state), the result of this reticence is that several problems remain unanswered. And these concern R.L.S.'s best known, though by no means his rarest books—*A Child's Garden of Verses*, and *Treasure Island*. The bibliographical puzzle in the former is the lettering on the binding; in the latter it is textual.

From the evidence of the four copies here recorded of the English 1885 edition (three firsts, one with a dated inscription, the other a second edition), it seems likely that copies with the word *Child's* on the spine in small type and with a curved apostrophe, are preferable, but it takes close

reading of the fine type to discover this. And, at that, in the absence of complete publisher's and binder's records, it may be better not to be dogmatic.

There is less excuse, however, for the inadequate bibliographical treatment of *Treasure Island*. Certain details of four bindings of the first edition sheets (2000 copies of which were printed), are here first recorded from the publisher's records. But of the numerous textual differences (whether of state or issue) within the first edition, mention is made only that "in this copy the 7 is missing from the pagination on p. 127." No mention is made of the equally important state of the "8" on page "83," or of the more important misprint "rain" (for "vain"), on page 40, etc.

Surely *Treasure Island*, of all the author's books, needs more bibliographical attention, at least in its first edition. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the Beinecke collection contains full bibliographical descriptions of seventy-three various editions, including those in French, Braille, Latin, Hebrew, Yiddish, Japanese, Italian, Roumanian, Dutch, Arabic (and variants among these), as well as Talking Book Records (musical score by Victor Young, Thomas Mitchell as Long John Silver)—and this thoroughness is but one example of many which could be cited.

Volume Two of the Beinecke collection will list manuscripts, collected writings, contributions, and periodical articles by R.L.S.; books about him, and bibliographies and catalogues of his works, books from his library, etc., plus an index to both volumes. The whole will constitute a most remarkable record, formed with courage and perseverance against some heavy odds, for which collectors, scholars and just plain lovers of Stevenson's magic will always be thankful.

R.L.S. was indeed lucky to find in Edwin J. Beinecke the perfect collector to "sing a song of a lad that is gone," and he would have loved these volumes.

DAVID A. RANDALL

VAN PATTEN, NATHAN, *comp.* *Catalogue of the Memorial Library of Music at Stanford University*. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University, 1950. xii, 310 pp. Illus. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. \$12.50.

Through the generosity of one of its alumni, Stanford University has recently formed a memorial library of music and published a sumptuous catalogue of the collection. Issued under the supervision of Nathan Van Patten, professor of bibliography, the volume has been beautifully printed by the Ward Ritchie Press of Los Angeles and bound by Gaston Pilon of

the French Binders, Garden City, N. Y. It is not often that one finds a catalogue so carefully issued in these days.

Among the more interesting manuscript items are a Bach *F Major Suite*, a youthful Beethoven sketch, an aria from Handel's *Messiah*, and part of a Haydn baryton *Divertimento*. Cherubini's *Médée*, a Mendelssohn *Symphony*, a *Polish Song* by Chopin, Flotow's opera, *Martha*, and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* are the leading nineteenth-century holdings. On the other hand, there are many items of unimportance musically and many fragments which can serve for little else than a sample of handwriting: for example, one page of an *Allegro à capriccio* by Halévy, Massenet's "*La terre promise . . . Rédaction de la orchestre . . .*," a sixteen-bar song, *Nocte amica*, by Florimo, Erlanger's *Le bon gîte*, a few bars of Sousa's *Stars and Stripes Forever*, and Lohr's *Little Grey Home in the West*. Great importance seems to have been attached to an inscription or autograph by the composer.

One wonders whether it was advisable to bring out a catalogue when the collection is so small and a great deal of it is rather insignificant. We are in favor of well-made books—yet content is important. A collection in its initial stage should not be judged with the same yardstick as one that has grown with the years, but it should have a certain consistency. We miss a thought-out philosophy of collecting in the Stanford Memorial Library, and this is a pity because undoubtedly a good deal of money has been spent in putting it together.

What is the point of a University collection? To gather material which will be useful to undergraduate and graduate students, supply sources for further research and serve for exhibition purposes. Specialization in particular fields is advisable and secondary material to back up the manuscripts essential. One is, of course, somewhat dependent on the current market but not entirely. The Stanford Collection has little to do with the music department of the university, and it impresses the uninitiated rather than the experienced collector. American music librarians are very much interested in seeing fine collections established in this country. As one of those who was actively involved in founding the Music Library Association about twenty years ago, the writer cares tremendously about the growth of collections in our universities. Considerable progress has been made in the field in late years, and the holdings of public and private institutions have expanded in remarkable fashion. A series of haphazard purchases in the field, however, can bring little delight to the profession. The Stanford Memorial music material falls short for University use, and

while some of the manuscripts are serviceable for research projects, much of the material is fragmentary or unimportant musically so that it fails in the second respect also. Even for exhibition purposes, the collection has no depth in any one field, making a display for dilettantes, not specialists.

Let us hope that the future growth of the Memorial Music Library at Stanford will have a closer relationship to the needs of a university and will contain a larger percentage of manuscripts with relevant musical value.

CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH

EHRSAM, THEODORE G. *Major Byron: The Incredible Career of a Literary Forger*. New York, Charles S. Boesen, 1951. Plates, facsimiles. 217 pp. 9 x 6 inches. \$6.00.

American graduate schools in their training of future literary researchers are altogether too casual about the problem of forgery. Indeed, I cannot myself remember that in seven years of graduate study with some of the most eminent scholars of the period, any of my intellectual betters ever so much as dropped a hint. And this in spite of the fact that the most eminent scholar was directing a doctoral dissertation in a field notoriously worked by a forger of bad (indeed, the worst) eminence, and the second most eminent scholar was lecturing on methods of research! Since then, in lectures on methodology in the humanities, I have learned invariably to include a discussion of the literary forger and his little ways and at least one problem or exercise in the discovery of forgery.

Mr. Ehram's book will go a long way to correct this situation. Its tale of the incredible "Major Byron" (who may have been neither a major nor a Byron) and his successful forgeries has been written with such thoroughness, authenticity, and skill—also with such an abundance of horrifying detail—as to set even the veriest tyro on his guard.

Byron forged Shelley and Keats material. Indeed, he may be said to have forged himself, for his descent from the poet is very dubious indeed. He fooled experts, including Mary Shelley. He got false documents accepted and he got genuine documents doubted. Even to this day, it is just as well to scan any paper to which he may have had access.

This valuable and interesting book should be read by all students of the romantic poets and by everyone working in any field where forged documents are likely to turn up. Sad to say, that means nearly every field.

JOHN BAKELESS